

VOLUME 20·1996

BYZANTINE AND MODERN GREEK STUDIES



CENTRE FOR BYZANTINE, OTTOMAN AND MODERN GREEK STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies is an annual journal devoted to all aspects of Byzantine and modern Greek scholarship. It welcomes research, criticism, contributions on theory and method in the form of articles, critical studies and short notes.

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Typeset and Printed by Bemrose Shafron (Printers) Ltd., 21 Chaser Court, Greyhound Park, Chester CH1 4QQ.

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List of Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
B	<i>Byzantion</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BS	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn)</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i>
DIEE	<i>Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
EEBS	<i>Ἑπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EO	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
IRAIK	<i>Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JGR	<i>J. & P. Zepos, Jus Graecoromanum</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>

<i>MPG</i>	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia series Graeco-Latina</i>
<i>MPL</i>	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia series Latina</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Pauly-Wissowa)
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
<i>RSBN</i>	<i>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</i>
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
<i>VV</i>	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZRVI</i>	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

Reviews

Κ.Π. Καβάφης, 'Ατελή Ποιήματα 1918-1932. Φιλολογική Έκδοση καὶ Σχόλια. Renata Lavagnini. Athens: Ίκαρος, 1994. pp.35.

Renata Lavagnini herself states that she began work on the present volume as long ago as 1976, when she first obtained permission from G.P. Savidis to edit Cavafy's unpublished drafts. The meticulous and scholarly presentation of hitherto unpublished material from the privately-owned Cavafy Archive more than compensates for the long wait. Lavagnini's profound knowledge of Cavafy's published and unpublished work is reflected not only in her earlier publications relating to the drafts themselves ('The Unpublished Drafts of Five Poems on Julian the Apostate by C.P. Cavafy', 1981; 'Τιρανόκερτα e Σαμίου Ἐπιτάφιον: due abozzi a cura di Renata Lavagnini', 1982; 'Sette nuove poesie bizantine di Kavafis', 1988) but also in her penetrating studies of 'Ἐπιθυμίες' (1975), 'Καيساریων' (1984) and Cavafy's use of Théodore de Banville's short treatise on poetics (1976).

The task on which Lavagnini embarked in 1976 was a dangerous and exciting one. Unlike any other category of Cavafy's work (the 'canon', the 'unpublished' poems and the 'disowned' poems), the unfinished poems constitute a discrete group for which no authorial intention can safely be postulated. We may infer that Cavafy once intended to finish these poems (he spoke of them with regret to Tellos Agras, a few months before dying) and that, recognising the impossibility of this, he still elected not to destroy them. Perhaps, then, they were half-intended to fall into scholars' hands. Fortunately, the hands into which they eventually fell were a safe pair.

In his will, Cavafy left his entire estate, after the deduction of two small family legacies, to Alexander Sengopoulos. In addition to the money, Cavafy specifies that Sengopoulos should receive, 'My household furniture, my jewellery and anything else of which I die possessed' (Perides, "Ὁ Βίος καὶ τὸ Ἔργο τοῦ Κωνστ. Καβάφη", 115). Thus, the only sources of information for Cavafy's intentions

towards any section of his oeuvre, apart from his poetic practice (the arrangement of his recognised poems into thematic collections, unfinished at his death) are his manuscript catalogues, which are difficult to interpret and have not all been published, or such documents as the biographical notice which appeared in 'Νέα Τέχνη' in 1924 stating, among other things, that Cavafy's early work 'ἔχει ἀποκηρυχθεῖ ἀπὸ τὸν ἴδιον', believed to have been written with the poet's collusion. This gives Lavagnini a free hand with the manuscripts, once she has defended, as she elegantly does in her introduction, publishing them at all.

In her introduction, Lavagnini explains what the 'Ἀτελή' are; discusses the problems entailed in their editing (including the actual deciphering of Cavafy's abbreviated and heavily over-written manuscripts); describes the poet's papers; discusses problems of dating; summarises the themes of the drafts, and concludes with clear and concise instructions for use of this volume. In her section on editing, instructive parallels are drawn with the problems that confronted Solomos's editors. In her section on the subject-matter of the drafts, new and convincing evidence is advanced in support of Seferis's reading of 'Υπὲρ τῆς Ἀχαϊκῆς Συμπολιτείας πολεμήσαντες'.

In her comments on Cavafy's papers, Lavagnini makes the point that there is a marked discrepancy between the care with which Cavafy preserved and classified his manuscripts and his apparently careless choice of ragged odds and ends of paper on which to write. This point has been made before by others, including Savidis, but without reference to any information regarding the use of paper in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Alexandria. Although new methods of mass-producing paper were developed in Egypt at an even earlier stage than in Europe, and well before Cavafy needed to avail himself of this commodity, I am not aware of any evidence to suggest that its greater availability had yet bred a corresponding contempt. The prodigal use of good quality paper may, in fact, be a rather late twentieth-century phenomenon. In Cavafy's own case, we should perhaps set his touching disrespect for the printed covers of his own collections, which he seems to have pulled off and used to fabricate makeshift dossiers for some of his drafts, alongside the calligraphic faircopies (on good paper) which he started making as early as the

1880s (“Όταν, φίλοι μου, ἀγαποῦσα” appears in a family album, signed and dated 1885). Surely, the use of scraps of paper for the drafts is not indicative of anything except their status as unfinished.

The presentation of the texts themselves is meticulous and clear. Editorial criteria balance faithful transcription of the manuscripts, representing deletions in double parentheses, against a measure of reader-friendliness, so that the texts are easy to read. Textual features which could not be sensibly represented by symbols are described in the notes. The latest draft, with all deletions eliminated, is presented at the end, in the form of a ‘final’ (though provisional) text. Unlike the presentation of any other section of Cavafy’s oeuvre based on archival sources (most glaringly the *Unpublished Poems*), the unfinished drafts are accompanied by notes which describe in a clear and consistent manner their physical appearance and provide useful details of historical sources, where relevant. The notes also attempt to identify the order of successive drafts and corrections. In addition, and again departing from the practice of her predecessors, Lavagnini provides not only both of the relevant catalogues made by the poet, but also a set of photographs of some of the material under discussion. Thus, for the first time, we have as clear a picture as it is possible to give of some of the papers in the main Cavafy Archive. In another refreshing departure from past practice, Lavagnini presents all evidence relevant to her arguments and never adumbrates unavailable ‘unpublished’ writings by the poet.

I have two very minor quibbles with respect to this book, which is in all other ways a model of archival scholarship. There is no index to the photographs, and the pages of one of the catalogues (F21) appear to have been reassembled in the wrong order (not necessarily by Lavagnini herself). We would expect, from other published catalogues (F5 and F16 in G.P. Savidis, ‘Μικρά Καβαφικά’ B), to find serial deletions occurring together nearer the beginning, so that, for example, what is represented here as the fifth page seems more likely to have been Cavafy’s page 1.

I also suspect that Lavagnini’s assumption that such poems as do not appear in the two catalogues, but were written and published during the period these cover, had a shorter gestation period than those listed, is not quite correct. Since Cavafy’s known working

practice was to draft and redraft, it seems likelier that the poems Lavagnini thinks were written quickly (some twenty-two, including, rather implausibly, ‘Ο Ἰωάννης Καντακουζηνός Ὑπερισχύει’ and ‘Ο Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς’) were in fact listed and then deleted upon publication (in common with Cavafy’s practice in the two earlier catalogues). In this case, Cavafy would simply not have kept the page or pages in question, since their usefulness to him ended once the poems were in circulation.

These extremely minor flaws notwithstanding, ‘Ἀτελὴ Ποιήματα’ is a major contribution to Cavafy scholarship. It is perhaps unfortunate that the fullest account of any single part of Cavafy’s work, both in bibliographical terms and in terms of the provision of earlier and comparative draft versions, should be of the least interesting or artistically realised poems, while early drafts of some of the best known (and greatest) poems remain unpublished and inaccessible in the archive. Comparable editions of the *Poems*, the *Unpublished Poems* and the *Disowned Poems* are long overdue.

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Katerina Krikos-Davis, *Kolokes: A Study of George Seferis’ Logbook III (1953-1955)*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1994. xi + 183 pp.

In the last few years a number of books (monographs, conference proceedings, correspondence) have been published which explore in different ways Seferis’ relationship with Cyprus. Krikos-Davis’ study constitutes a significant addition to this list as it deals with the analysis of Seferis’ Cypriot poems, being the result of a long and painstaking involvement with his work. Samples of her scholarship have come out earlier, but this book offers the most comprehensive picture of Krikos-Davis’ engagement with Seferis’ poetry and is based on her thesis accepted by Cambridge University.

Kolokes are dried gourds, engraved with geometric designs and used in Cyprus as receptacles. This Cypriot craft fascinated Seferis and he originally intended to use this dialect word as a title for his

the Octateuchs (e.g., *DOP* 36 [1982], 115-26 and *The Octateuchs* [University Park 1992]), Jeffrey Anderson's studies of Kokkinobaphos manuscripts (see esp. *Viator* 22 [1991], 69-121), Irmgard Hutter and Paul Canart's *Das Marienhomiliar des Mönchs Jakobos von Kokkinobaphos* (Stuttgart 1991), Robert Ousterhout's work on the architecture of Nea Moni (*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 [1992], 48-60) and Henry Maguire's discussion of its interior mosaic decoration (*DOP* 46 [1992], 205-14), Eve Borsook's *Messages in mosaic: the royal programmes of Norman Sicily* (Oxford 1990), and the major publication on the San Paolo doors: E. Josi, V. Federici, E. Ercadi, *La porta bizantina di San Paolo* (Rome 1967).

There is, in short, little indication in *Byzantine art and architecture* that the decade or so before the book was written had impacted rather seriously on the study of Byzantine art history. But Rodley's is a far better survey than the two other widely available ones, John Beckwith's *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* and David Talbot Rice's *Art of the Byzantine Era*. While no survey, in our current climate, would serve all audiences equally well, one will be able to teach with, if not from, Rodley's *Byzantine art and architecture*.

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Anthony Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium*. Princeton, Princeton University Press. 1994. pp.xv, 293.

'The immediate purpose of this book is to discover how, when and why the Byzantines carved ivory, and its ultimate aim is to analyse and define the achievements of the sculptors who worked this material in this society' (p.1). In taking on this subject Professor Cutler's approach is to lay emphasis on the close examination of the techniques and production of the work of art, especially given the paucity of textual information in Byzantine sources concerning the working of

ivory. The strength of the book is exactly that; to raise questions about the processes of production of works of art from the close analysis of the techniques and processes of production of the work of art. Intended to stimulate debate, the provocative features of the book will ensure that research continues into the role of the artist in relation to the production, distribution and significance of the work of art as material object within Byzantine society.

The author's primary approach to 'this literarily untouched subject' (p.7) is to have handled the ivories themselves in order to study the way they were carved, as well as their display, purpose, and meaning as objects of great value. His observations on the way in which ivories have suffered enables him to suggest that ivories were held in the hands and worshipped as icons. Through the cutting, polishing and finishing of particular pieces, assumptions are made concerning their attribution to individual artists on the basis of technique as well as 'detailing' (as he refers to style). In his discussion, individual masters emerge as the means of production in contrast to the workshop. He views ivories as a major social indicator, their production linked — limited even — to Constantinople between c.880-c.1080. He believes, controversially, that the supply of ivory dried up after that time and that ivory was not carved by the twelfth century. He points to the lack of Komnenian portraits in ivory and the change in the word for ivory worker from *elephantourgos* to *technites* (p.20), the latter a generic word for craftsman, in the words of Anna Komnene.

Cutler makes some fascinating observations about the way that ivory is carved and finished. For example, an ivory of the Crucifixion at Princeton (p.35 with fig. 34) shows the grain of the ivory itself used to shape Christ's chest and stomach. In sections where ivories were carefully polished it is unlikely that they were painted. This is contrasted with other areas where the presence of toolmarks coincides with the remnants of paint (p.144). His comments on epigraphy and orthography too are instructive. But elsewhere this is a provocative book, and clearly meant to be, dedicated as it is 'to the students who disagree'. It raises many problems about which there will be discussion for a long time to come. I will touch on just three of them here.

One major problem is how to define the corpus of Byzantine ivory

carving. The reader is over half way through the book before the author comes clean on this in admitting that 'our understanding of both these aspects of production [finishing and assembling] is compromised by insufficient knowledge of virtually every ivory's provenance' (p.141). His own attitude is, I believe, too generous in this regard. While he explicitly excludes ivories that Professor Weitzmann had attributed to an 'Italo-Byzantine' context, Cutler includes others that are decidedly tenuous. His view is that 'a far greater challenge than the existence of forgeries to our understanding of how Byzantine ivories were produced is the nature of the material circumstances from which they issued' (p.66). I wonder. His proposal that the copy of the Veroli casket in Madrid is modern (pp.11-119 with fig. 129) could have provided the basis for wider consideration of this issue. Instead it becomes more of an emotive issue, with a different modern panel being described as 'superfluous and inadequate' (p.65) while other panels are accepted elsewhere in the book without question as part of the Byzantine canon. What are his benchmarks? But I do not believe that deliberate forgeries are the only problem in definition. Given the popularity of Byzantine ivories themselves in the medieval West, it is possible that Byzantine-style ivories were also produced there, to capitalise on demand, of course, rather than to flummox the twentieth-century art historian. Ivories may also have been produced in Byzantium exclusively for this lucrative export market, a possibility not considered by Cutler. He assumes that production was almost exclusively Constantinopolitan: the finds at Corinth and Sarkel in the Crimea and elsewhere (pp.73ff), represent for him an almost inconvenient aberration. The question of the potential reuse or recutting of panels is nowhere considered.

Another problem is that of individual craftsmen versus workshop practice. The lack of textual evidence for the organisation of such workers may well support Cutler's assumption that they had no formal workshop structure. But this does not prevent another possibility: that craftspeople who worked in ivory were predominantly workers in other materials, especially wood and stone, who turned their hand to ivory at such times as that material was available and a commission turned up. It is indeed perfectly possible that home-working was a widespread form of production. But if so it is unnecessary to follow

Cutler's assumption that these artisans were all men (p.2 and elsewhere). Indeed, the very anonymity of the ivory workers might suggest otherwise, with women working alongside their husbands, fathers and brothers as part of domestic production. If, as I think possible, early Byzantine mosaic workers in what is now Jordan functioned in family units, a similar practice might have pertained to other crafts. Also, if ivory workers were conservative in their working practices and as adept at 'copying' as other artisans, this would logically make the identification of particular hands rather difficult. (In this context I find Cutler's use of the work 'facture' odd when the perfectly serviceable 'manufacture' in English would have served his purposes rather better). Finally, as Cutler himself admits, the 'rosette' caskets are a mixture of bone and carving suggesting more than one working method and a collaborative venture of some sort (pp.62, 152). Indeed the relation of bone to ivory is an issue in itself. Cutler points out that sacred subjects were rarely undertaken in bone, suggesting that the more highly-prized material was regarded as having a more innate worth. But this does not work the other way around: secular as well as religious panels were also made in ivory.

Third, there is the question of display. Cutler rightly points out the problem of viewing such objects in museums, both in terms of getting close enough to view the panel and of seeing it from various angles. But he labours his point. For several years now there has been a high profile public debate about museums, cultural heritage and the heritage industry in which the display of objects and works of art has featured prominently. He singles out the Berlin Entry into Jerusalem as an example (pp.39-40) of insensitive modern display. While indicating that it is not known how the panels were viewed by Byzantines he states that 'the one improbability is that they stared at them only from the fixed and frontal position of the scholar or the well-behaved museum visitor'. I do not believe that I am worse-behaved than any other museum goer, but it has never occurred to me not to peer around a showcase to look at the side of an ivory, or at the back where possible. His choice of the Berlin ivory in this context is unfortunate, quite apart from the fact that his reproductions, figs. 39 and 40 are reversed, reducing the effectiveness of his point. Actually, as a showpiece of what was then West Berlin, the Byzantine

display in the Staatliche Museum offers a model of how such pieces might be displayed elsewhere; at the correct height in vitrines without obtrusive framing supports which allow natural rather than glaring natural light to play upon the objects. At times such as this Cutler's style of writing appears almost cantankerous. Another instance is when he announces that 'a good deal of nonsense has been written about "quality" in art . . .' (p.1). Some of that nonsense might have been pertinent here.

In sum, I think this book usefully draws attention to the question of the artist in Byzantium, and its observations will stimulate further work on ivory carving. It will also provide a lively teaching text. Cutler remarks that students invariably question what ivories were used for, and 'Only when students "grow up" do they learn to raise such problems as "where was it made? What would you compare it with? And (above all) when would you date it?"' This study ensures that students grow up quickly, some to become the students to whom the book is dedicated.

**Lucy-Anne Hunt,
University of Birmingham**

who, having reached p.288, contemplates withdrawal from the text may be en/discouraged by L's account of the 'orgasmic sentences' of Derrida the 'gay rabbi'.) More lasting rewards come with re-reading, and I found my respect for the author increasing with each attempt. This daedalic book repays persistence.

**Christopher Stray,
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University of Wales, Swansea**

Evro Layton, *The sixteenth century Greek book in Italy. Printers and publishers for the Greek world*. Venice: Library of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Studies No. 16, 1994. pp.xxxii, 611.

The study of Greek printing in Italy is founded on sound nineteenth-century beginnings. The bibliographical works of Emile Legrand, despite his occasional gullibility, remain an essential point of reference for any new research. Legrand's systematic studies have been supplemented and, in important respects, revised in the course of the twentieth century as new editions have come to light, old assumptions have been challenged and some newer approaches have been applied. Notable contributions have come, during the past three decades, from scholars of both older and younger generations, including Enrica Follieri, Linos Politis, Caterina Carpinato, Philippos Iliou, Stefanos Kaklamanis, Giorgos Kechagioglou, Fani Mavroei, Georgios Ploumidis and Giorgos Veloudis. The *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία* of Thomas Papadopoulos (Athens 1984) is a comprehensive codification of known or attested editions down to 1800. Evro Layton has produced several major articles correcting and adding to previous studies, and in 1990 created something of a sensation with her identification of the previously unknown first edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis. The effect of this major discovery was to raise the date of the first known printed Modern Greek literary text to 1509. Nonetheless, there remains a lack of comprehensive studies of the early stages of Greek printing, to bring together the fruits of these researches and make

them available to a wider readership. The present work attempts to address that need.

The 'Greek book' for Layton, as for Legrand, can be defined in simple and unequivocal terms: it is addressed to a readership of native Greek-speakers, rather than humanist scholars of the West, and falls predominantly into two broad categories: liturgical and popular. In the period covered by this study virtually all printing of Greek books of this kind took place in Venice.

The book is structured in two large entities: Part One deals with printing types, illustrations and the subject-matter of the books; Part Two consists of a series of studies or essays on the editors, printers and publishers of Greek books. At the end of Part One there is a complete checklist of editions from 1486 to 1600, each entry including a short-title, names of printers and publishers (where known), references to the standard bibliographical works where full descriptions are to be found, and the location of surviving copies. This list is a most useful and convenient research tool in its own right. It might perhaps have been followed up with some analysis of the number of editions of the various texts, in order to give some indication of the demands of the market and, in particular, to show the relative proportions of liturgical and popular editions. The reader can calculate that, for instance, in the decade 1591-1600 some 72 editions of Greek books are reliably attested (if we set aside six alleged editions the existence of which is debatable); of these a total of 57 (79%) are liturgical or religious texts, 13 (18%) are popular literary works, and two are instructional (a textbook on arithmetic). Such figures indicate the overwhelming preponderance of liturgical and religious works in the output of the presses catering for Greek readers. The volume closes with a comprehensive bibliography extending to 42 pages and a handy index. The only significant omission from the bibliography which I have noted is the edition by G.M. Parasoglou of the *Myths* of Aesop (1993), which includes texts of the Modern Greek translations of Andronikos Noukios and Georgios Aitolos, but this may have appeared too late for Layton to take it into account.

After this overview of the volume, we can proceed to a more detailed examination of the contents. The organisation of the material presents some problems, as we shall shortly see. The reader quickly

becomes aware that the same information is repeated in different locations. For example, discussions of the woodcut illustrations of the 1526 edition of Loukanis's *Iliad* will be found in the chapter devoted to illustration, but also in that on texts in Modern Greek, and in the essay on Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria. Some of this overlap could have been cut down by a greater use of cross-reference.

The decision to devote the opening chapter to a detailed examination of Greek printing types is an interesting one. It indicates the author's scholarly interest in typography but at the same time reminds us that type-design was a major and, of course, essential aspect of the development of printing in Greek. Here Layton does not limit herself to books for Greek readers, nor to books produced in Italy, but in effect offers an account of the early history of printing in Greek. It is perhaps surprising that the first Venetian Greek book did not appear until 1484, while Brescia had already produced its first Greek book in, probably, 1474. Greek printing was slow to get started: only 66 or 67 Greek books appeared before 1500, compared with some 18,000 editions in Latin. Before Aldus Manutius began his activities, only three Greek books had been printed in Venice. The development of various cursive types, following the pattern set by Aldus, is then traced in detail through the sixteenth century. Modern readers may be surprised to learn that the New Testament part of the Complutensian Bible (in which the Cretan Demetrios Doukas played an important role) employed a monotonic accent system, without breathings; it took until 1982 for the innovation to be officially sanctioned in Greece! The chapter on printing types makes use of a good many technical terms which presuppose some knowledge of the mechanics of printing (punches, kerns, sorts, etc.). Some basic information would have been helpful, as would a more extensive discussion of the use of ligatures and of the aesthetics of the various fonts examined.

The second chapter, on illustration, is equally packed with information and analysis (particularly on the way woodcuts 'migrate' from one text to another, and even from one printer to another), but here there is also some attempt to analyse the aesthetics of the woodcuts themselves. Where woodcuts appear in the sixteenth-century liturgical texts, they initially exhibit a mixture of post-Byzantine and western

iconographic elements, with the western ones usually predominating; from the middle of the century, however, Orthodox elements reappear, partly, it seems, because of the increasing number of Greeks involved in Venetian book-production. By contrast, in the secular texts the style of the woodcuts is almost exclusively Venetian. The chapter is profusely illustrated, as indeed is the whole book. But the location of the illustrations in relation to the text where they are discussed is problematic. One often has to look forward or backward several pages to find the relevant illustrations, and sometimes one is even directed to another chapter. (Furthermore, since the notes appear at the end of each chapter or section, rather than as footnotes, the reader requires considerable manual dexterity.) The blame has to lie mainly with the book's designer rather than its author. It would certainly have helped if the illustrations had been suitably captioned (instead of 'fig. x'). There is a complete list of illustrations at the beginning of the book, but this does not solve the problem.

The third and fourth chapters look at the books as texts, more or less title by title. (Sub-headings, here and elsewhere, would facilitate reference.) The division into 'Liturgical and other religious works' and 'Texts in Modern Greek' is not strictly accurate. Some of the religious texts are in fact in the vernacular: Ioannikios Kartanos's notorious compilation of biblical stories is the obvious example, but there are also the sermons of Damaskenos Stoudites and Alexios Rartouros, as well as a Modern Greek translation, by Maximos Margounios, of the work of St. John Climacus. On the other hand some of the popular texts, the so-called *phyllades*, have religious subject-matter. The importance of the liturgical texts, which were also used as school-books to teach reading, is underlined by the large number of editions they underwent; to give some examples: the *Horologion* was printed 32 times in the course of the sixteenth century (on average once about every three years), the *Oktoechos* 18 times and the *Psalterion* 14 times. Layton points out that studies of the actual texts of the liturgical works, and of the relationship between the manuscript and printed traditions, are still lacking. When we turn to the popular literary texts, we find a very different situation. There is ample reference to the wealth of scholarly studies which now exist, on matters such as authorship, sources and dating, although one senses,

from time to time, that the author is not fully at ease when dealing with purely philological questions. There is some confusion between verse and rhyme, for example in relation to the *Chapbook of the Donkey*. Older views, now dismissed by modern scholars, are cited unnecessarily (e.g. on the relationship of the didactic poems of Falieros and Defaranas). And what is said about the model/source of the *Story of Susanna* is at the very least unclear, if not actually confusing. Along with the popular texts in verse, this chapter also offers valuable studies of the printing history of other vernacular texts of very different kinds: the *Corona Preciosa*, works by Leonardos Fortios and Nikolaos Sophianos, the Portulans. All this is greatly to be welcomed.

Part Two contains perhaps some of the most original contributions that the book has to offer. First and foremost, it establishes a clear distinction between the roles of editors, publishers and printers, which are often confused (partly because the same individuals undertook different roles on different editions with which they were involved). The most interesting of the forty-odd essays, arranged alphabetically from Aliprandi to Zenos, are those on Zacharias Kallierges, Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, the Nicolini da Sabbio, Nikolaos Sophianos and Demetrios Zenos. These portraits are both biographical and bibliographical, excellently documented and frequently offering a personal view of matters that have been the subject of past debate.

Layton's achievement is thus considerable. The volume does not set out to present any radical reappraisal of its subject, propose new approaches, or challenge orthodox views. But what it does do, painstakingly, lucidly and lovingly, is to assemble in a convenient and up-to-date form a vast corpus of information on the first hundred years of Greek printing for Greek readers. If one has reservations about its technical production (and I might add a complaint about the flimsiness of the binding), as a scholarly compendium it is unrivalled in its coverage and will long remain indispensable to students of the Greek book.

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practice was to draft and redraft, it seems likelier that the poems Lavagnini thinks were written quickly (some twenty-two, including, rather implausibly, ‘Ο Ἰωάννης Καντακουζηνός Ὑπερισχύει’ and ‘Ο Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς’) were in fact listed and then deleted upon publication (in common with Cavafy’s practice in the two earlier catalogues). In this case, Cavafy would simply not have kept the page or pages in question, since their usefulness to him ended once the poems were in circulation.

These extremely minor flaws notwithstanding, ‘Ἀτελὴ Ποιήματα’ is a major contribution to Cavafy scholarship. It is perhaps unfortunate that the fullest account of any single part of Cavafy’s work, both in bibliographical terms and in terms of the provision of earlier and comparative draft versions, should be of the least interesting or artistically realised poems, while early drafts of some of the best known (and greatest) poems remain unpublished and inaccessible in the archive. Comparable editions of the *Poems*, the *Unpublished Poems* and the *Disowned Poems* are long overdue.

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Katerina Krikos-Davis, *Kolokes: A Study of George Seferis’ Logbook III (1953-1955)*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1994. xi + 183 pp.

In the last few years a number of books (monographs, conference proceedings, correspondence) have been published which explore in different ways Seferis’ relationship with Cyprus. Krikos-Davis’ study constitutes a significant addition to this list as it deals with the analysis of Seferis’ Cypriot poems, being the result of a long and painstaking involvement with his work. Samples of her scholarship have come out earlier, but this book offers the most comprehensive picture of Krikos-Davis’ engagement with Seferis’ poetry and is based on her thesis accepted by Cambridge University.

Kolokes are dried gourds, engraved with geometric designs and used in Cyprus as receptacles. This Cypriot craft fascinated Seferis and he originally intended to use this dialect word as a title for his

collection *Logbook III*. As suggested by the author, the word can be treated as a metaphoric allusion to his conception of poetry as craftsmanship requiring apprenticeship, hard work and discipline.

The book is neatly organised, offering a careful and thorough analysis of thirteen poems of *Logbook III*, divided into three chapters following a thematic structure: 'Ancient Greek Themes', 'Medieval Themes' and 'Contemporary Cyprus'. These three chapters are preceded by an extensive prologue in which Seferis is placed within the context of European modernism and described as a 'deliberate innovator . . . not alone among the Modernists in sifting through literary tradition in order to extract a usable residue' (10). His passionate commitment to humanism and his estrangement from the mechanised modern world, which form important aspects of his general outlook, are also discussed in the prologue, underpinning the view that he seems to have found in Cyprus much that was valuable and had been lost from modern life and Greece, too.

In her prologue Krikos-Davis provides a succinct history of Cyprus and describes Seferis' connection with the island. She claims that in the traditional society of the island in the 1950s, the poet 'found a more wholesome way of life' (25). After his first visit to the island in December 1952, Seferis visited it in the following years (1953-5), and these more extensive sojourns gave rise to *Logbook III*, where a happier relationship between him and his environment finds poetic embodiment. Finally, outlining her practical 'philological' approach, she explains why she left out of her analysis four poems of *Logbook III*: 'Memory I' and 'Memory II' (unconnected with Cyprus and composed before Seferis' first visit to the island), 'Dream' and 'Peddler from Sidon', both defying the three-fold thematic classification adopted by the writer in the subsequent chapters.

Four poems with an ancient Greek theme are discussed and analysed in the first chapter. One related to Herodotus ('In the Goddess' Name I Summon You') and three to Euripides ('Helen', 'Pentheus' and 'Euripides the Athenian'). Neither writer figured prominently in Seferis' earlier work. The author proceeds by elaborating further on sources identified and interpretations offered earlier by scholars (including herself), making some pertinent points about Euripides' late presence in Seferis' work and linking it to the experience of war.

The decade of the 1950s might have been conducive to a fuller appreciation of Euripides by Seferis, being a period of reckoning up the consequences of war in Greece during the previous decade and the Cypriot struggle for independence. Seferis' attraction to Euripides as opposed to his other favourite tragedian, Aeschylus, could have been investigated here further as one is left with the impression that the discussion is cut short and the crucial role of Euripides in *Logbook III* is not explored fully.

The following chapter opens with the important observation that Seferis' first visit to Cyprus helped him to extend his interest in medieval Greek texts. Until then he believed that an essential prerequisite for a poet was a good grasp of all the forms of the Greek language afforded by a close familiarity with those texts. From the 1950s onwards he thought that the subject-matter of his poetry could benefit, too. As a result, four poems of *Logbook III* have medieval themes relying either on St. Neophytos to the Recluse ('Agianapa II', 'Neophytos Enkleistos Speaks') or Machairas' *Chronicle* ('The Demon of Fornication', 'Three Mules'). The close readings here are careful, lucid and rich in cross-reference and historical detail. Occasionally, however, some rather long commentaries on a single expression are not helpful in the main body of the text (e.g. three pages on *kaimos tis Romiosinis*) as they divert the reader's attention and break the flow of the analysis. On the other hand, it could be said that the use of free indirect style and Cavafy's impact on 'The Demon of Fornication' deserved more discussion. Indeed, apart from the reliance on Cypriot medieval texts, Cavafy's presence can be detected in a number of poems of the collection and could have been examined separately.

The last chapter of this study is the longest, thereby suggesting that contemporary Cyprus and its political reality in the 1950s was more important for the poet than the ancient and medieval sources. The five poems examined here ('Agianapa I', 'Details on Cyprus', 'In the Kyrenia District', 'Salamis of Cyprus', 'Engomi') fall into two groups, chiefly by developing two themes: the 'human tragedy' of the island and the 'miracle' operating there. Being symmetrically arranged within the collection, all bear in their title a Cypriot place-name or refer to the island as a whole. Sometimes the title is crucial,

otherwise the connection of a poem such as 'Agianapa I' with contemporary Cyprus is tenuous. Indeed, one could go so far as to question the inclusion of the above poem in this chapter. Surprisingly, in the analysis of the 'Details on Cyprus', neither the wooden well-wheel nor the whole stanza are associated with the common imagery in Seferis of wells and cisterns connoting ethnic depth and communication with tradition. Though competent and illuminating, the commentaries on these palimpsest poems, and particularly on 'In the Kyrenia District' and 'Salamis of Cyprus', should have explored in greater detail the question of Seferis' anti-colonial sentiment obliquely expressed under his liberal humanist stance. One might argue that the philological perspective of this study tends to suppress the anti-colonial dimension of Seferis' most politically outspoken collection.

Logbook III, being one of Seferis' most optimistic and celebratory poetic statements, represents a skilful combination of literary evocation, religious tradition, popular culture and historical reality. The intertwining of complex intertextuality and historical allusion make it one of the most impenetrable collections requiring a well-trained analytical mind. Krikos-Davis has lived up to his task, producing a series of fine close-readings equally helpful for the scholar and the student alike. Very few know Seferis' work as well as Krikos-Davis and this is eloquently demonstrated in her study. By sensibly and thoroughly utilising Seferis' *oeuvre* and the vast secondary material, she produces a very useful commentary on *Logbook III* which substantially updates the one compiled by George Savidis in 1961. It is a welcome and solid contribution to the analysis of Seferis' poetry which cannot be ignored by any Seferis scholars.

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V. Lambropoulos, *The rise of Eurocentrism. Anatomy of interpretation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton, UP, 1994. pp.xiii, 471.

The argument of this learned, artful and difficult book can be summarised

Lyn Rodley, *Byzantine art and architecture, an introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. pp.xv, 380.

Survey books are not written to change mentalities (though some have) but to introduce a subject to students and the interested lay reader. What these audiences need is a chronological outline of the material on which to hang the insights provided by the author. The data needs to be correct, up-to-date, and, in an art history survey, well illustrated; the interpretation offered by the scholar-author needs to be equally well-informed. Writing a survey of Byzantine art and architecture can never have been an easy task, and today the enterprise is even more difficult. The genre is methodologically suspect in this self-conscious post-modern age; the perimeters of what constitutes both the 'art' and the 'history' of 'art history' have expanded during the past two decades; and during the same period new finds — and the reassessment of old ones — have added considerably to the data bank. The survey author must somehow exhibit competence in all periods and areas of a rapidly expanding discipline, whilst demonstrating a coherent interpretative strategy that recognises current art historical methodologies. It is hard to see how anyone could succeed.

Lyn Rodley's *Byzantine art and architecture, an introduction* nonetheless fulfills some of these criteria admirably: there is, for example, a fine balance between periods and media. The material has been divided into seven periods — early Christian, the sixth century, the 'dark age' and Iconoclasm, the Macedonians, the Komnenians, the Latin occupation of Constantinople, and the Palaiologans — with slightly more than half of the discussion centred on architecture and its sculptural or fresco/mosaic decoration and the rest devoted to the so-called minor arts and manuscript illumination. There are unfortunately no colour plates, and some of the black and white illustrations are too small to be of value — the series of three pages from the Vienna Dioscorides (p.105), each of which measures 6.5 × 5cm (the pages themselves measure 33 × 38cm), might as well have been omitted, for it is practically impossible to see the images even if one knows what they represent — but most objects and buildings discussed are illustrated more or less satisfactorily; in any event, complaints should be directed to the press, not to the author.

The coverage is thorough in terms of the monuments included as well: a vast number of artifacts have been incorporated, and many known only from texts have also been mentioned. It is the interpretation of the material almost exclusively in terms of formal evolution, and the bibliography given for further reading, that causes some concerns: the sense that the author has been out of contact with other scholars in the field for the past decade is hard to shake. It would be impossible, in this short space, to exemplify these concerns for the entirety of *Byzantine art and architecture*; I shall therefore focus on one chapter, about a period that I do not myself study but about which I give occasional lectures.

From the perspective of a tutor/teacher, the proof of a survey book lies in its usefulness for students. Chapter 5, 'The Comnene dynasty' (pp.195-262) contains some factual and/or typographical errors which, though minor in themselves, would disconcert undergraduates: e.g., the empress Zoe probably had three, not two, husbands, and her third, Constantine IX Monomachos, reigned 1042-55 not 1059-67 (p.199); Iconoclasm ended in 843 not 943, *pace* p.260. Other issues are potentially more serious.

'Facts' about buildings and objects are summarised succinctly, clearly, and (usually) fairly. The evolution of form is Rodley's primary concern, and the students will learn a lot about the relationship between, say, Constantinopolitan and Thessalonikan building techniques. Rodley describes; she sometimes analyses the significance of the similarities and differences she records (she argues for the impact of 'provincial' artisans in the capital, for example); but she rarely assesses the importance to the Byzantines of the buildings and objects she cites. The Pantokrator monastery, for example, is considered almost entirely in terms of its architectural forms; though Rodley observes that the central church was funerary, students would not know from reading this book that it was here that the monastic and secular clergy joined with the lay population weekly as part of a great urban icon-bearing procession during which prayers were said for the dead buried there (that, at least, was the intention of the building's patron, John II Komnenos, who described it in the monastic *typikon*). This is important for, among other things, what it says about the self-image of the ruling dynasty, for its information about urban

life, and for its indications of the complex uses of the building itself — all of which are as legitimate interests for the art historian as the brick technique used. Rodley's emphasis on form and technique seldom wavers: the Sinai Annunciation icon's style is considered without reference to the particular shape of its iconography (on which see Henry Maguire, *Art and eloquence in Byzantium* [Princeton 1981], 50-2); the significance of the locations, and shifting gazes, of the figures on the so-called Crown of Hungary — which reveal much about the 'art of diplomacy' (see Robin Cormack, in Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin, eds., *Byzantine diplomacy* [Aldershot 1992], 230-1) — is not mentioned. Students need to know about styles and techniques, but this dry prescription wants enlivening with other things that both make more interesting reading and are equally necessary for the art historian to understand.

Throughout the chapter there is a recurrent emphasis on 'innovation', or (usually) the lack thereof, sometimes outrightly termed 'stagnation'. This is perhaps in part due to the formalist agenda that Rodley adopts, but it is also a defensive posture and its source appears at the very end of the book, when Rodley evokes the ghost of Edward Gibbon, who 'must bear a good deal of responsibility for the defensive nature of much subsequent assessment' (p.346). It is a pity that this ghost, which seems to haunt British Byzantinists, cannot be exorcised but has instead been passed along to the next generation of students.

A final issue of importance to the student reader is, of course, bibliography. Rodley is to be commended for insisting on footnotes in the text, and the references she provides are generally adequate and useful. But sometimes the bibliography cited is out-of date, and it is sometimes actually misleading. The Walters Psalter, dated by Rodley to the Komnenian period on the basis of Dorothy Miner's 1955 article, was re-attributed to the fourteenth century twenty years ago (by Anthony Cutler, in the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 35 [1977], 36-61). Omission of more recent bibliography (and its content) was perhaps dictated by the editorial process, but it remains unfortunate that Nancy Ševčenko's discussion of the Pantokrator procession (in *DOP* 45 [1991], 52-3) is ignored, as are, for example, her major study *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago 1990), John Lowden's several publications on

the Octateuchs (e.g., *DOP* 36 [1982], 115-26 and *The Octateuchs* [University Park 1992]), Jeffrey Anderson's studies of Kokkinobaphos manuscripts (see esp. *Viator* 22 [1991], 69-121), Irmgard Hutter and Paul Canart's *Das Marienhomiliar des Mönchs Jakobos von Kokkinobaphos* (Stuttgart 1991), Robert Ousterhout's work on the architecture of Nea Moni (*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 [1992], 48-60) and Henry Maguire's discussion of its interior mosaic decoration (*DOP* 46 [1992], 205-14), Eve Borsook's *Messages in mosaic: the royal programmes of Norman Sicily* (Oxford 1990), and the major publication on the San Paolo doors: E. Josi, V. Federici, E. Ercadi, *La porta bizantina di San Paolo* (Rome 1967).

There is, in short, little indication in *Byzantine art and architecture* that the decade or so before the book was written had impacted rather seriously on the study of Byzantine art history. But Rodley's is a far better survey than the two other widely available ones, John Beckwith's *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* and David Talbot Rice's *Art of the Byzantine Era*. While no survey, in our current climate, would serve all audiences equally well, one will be able to teach with, if not from, Rodley's *Byzantine art and architecture*.

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Anthony Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium*. Princeton, Princeton University Press. 1994. pp.xv, 293.

'The immediate purpose of this book is to discover how, when and why the Byzantines carved ivory, and its ultimate aim is to analyse and define the achievements of the sculptors who worked this material in this society' (p.1). In taking on this subject Professor Cutler's approach is to lay emphasis on the close examination of the techniques and production of the work of art, especially given the paucity of textual information in Byzantine sources concerning the working of

otherwise the connection of a poem such as 'Agianapa I' with contemporary Cyprus is tenuous. Indeed, one could go so far as to question the inclusion of the above poem in this chapter. Surprisingly, in the analysis of the 'Details on Cyprus', neither the wooden well-wheel nor the whole stanza are associated with the common imagery in Seferis of wells and cisterns connoting ethnic depth and communication with tradition. Though competent and illuminating, the commentaries on these palimpsest poems, and particularly on 'In the Kyrenia District' and 'Salamis of Cyprus', should have explored in greater detail the question of Seferis' anti-colonial sentiment obliquely expressed under his liberal humanist stance. One might argue that the philological perspective of this study tends to suppress the anti-colonial dimension of Seferis' most politically outspoken collection.

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The argument of this learned, artful and difficult book can be summarised

as follows. The interpretation of texts is a characteristic practice of modernity; it represents and reinforces the aesthetic attitude of the emancipated individual, who since the Reformation has been able to confront such texts directly without the mediation of ecclesiastical or other authority (hence the original title of the book, 'The rule of autonomy: emancipation and interpretation in modernity'). The author argues that this 'project of freedom' has run its course, and that its liberating potential has been converted into a set of control practices. In his own typically provocative formulation, the history of these practices reveals a 'Hebraic rule of Hellenic autonomy'. In the genealogy of the aesthetic attitude which his book offers, the 'Hebraic' and 'Hellenic' constitute the pole of an abiding tension between the moral and the aesthetic; a tension which, the author suggests, first appeared in the 16th century, when a history of European self-definition against external Others was replaced by a focus on competing exemplary Selves. It should be said immediately that the argument is in broad terms cogent and convincing.

The book's theme is proclaimed in a brief, uncompromising, almost apocalyptic introduction. Readers who bounce off the polished armour of its style can turn to the similarly brief but more accessible epilogue, where the argument is recollected in clarity. Lambropoulos claims that since the Reformation the word has been detached from the sacraments; the focus of both freedom and authority lying not in the priest/lay relation, but in that between lay worshipper/reader and sacred text. This has become generalised into a secular cultural system of interpretation in which all texts are studied as objects in themselves. This is the aesthetic attitude, that of autonomous readers and thinkers. Freed from the shackles of the pre-reformation church, their freedom is itself defined and conducted so as to promote control. Subjects are now made and organised just as effectively as they were through the explicit oppressions of institutional authority. The book's three long chapters consider in turn three aspects of this process: the analysis and interpretation of texts; *Bildung* and the aesthetic attitude; the control aspects of the aesthetic attitude. All three are argued to illustrate the Hebraic hijacking of Hellenic autonomy. As the long day of Hellenism draws to a close, Lambropoulos takes wing. *The Rise of Eurocentrism*, one suspects, is however designed not just to

preserve the record of a dying age, but as a prelude to a constructive political project intended to rescue something from the ruins of the project of freedom. This constructive project is adumbrated in Lambropoulos' recent essay 'The rule of justice',¹ which seeks to develop a 'nomoscopy', a practical theorising which analyses regimes of action, as opposed to a generalising 'theoria'. (The present book is itself 'an essay in nomoscopy', p.xii).

The opening chapter, 'The rites of interpretation', opens with a dissection of another opening chapter: the celebrated discussion of 'Odysseus' Scar' in Auerbach's *Mimesis*. Auerbach contrasts the naïve realism of Homer with the interpretative mode of the biblical story of Abraham and Isaac; but while he claims to be focusing on the former, Lambropoulos points out that he actually privileges the latter. In fact Auerbach's own account is not a ('Hellenic') analysis, but a ('Hebraic') interpretation. Lambropoulos goes on to relate this stress on interpretation to the post-reformation emphasis on the text as autonomous source rather than as part of a complex of institutional authority, an emphasis which became bound up with middle-class morality and self-identity. In chapter 2, 'The culture of atonement', Lambropoulos looks more closely at this secular religion, and in particular at the ideal of cultivation (*Bildung*). Here the moral individual was shaped, like a work of art, and the bourgeois 'Gebildete' ideology acted to transmit an idea of aesthetic autonomy: the aspirant, if not perfected, autonomous individual citizen. (It is surprising that the author nowhere makes the obvious but important point that 'Bild' = 'picture', though he does discuss the role of 18th-century German aesthetic theory). In this chapter we begin to catch sight of the social locations and effects of the ideology of autonomy: an ideology carried by middle-class groups which was embedded in specific pedagogic procedures and educational institutions, access to which was restricted. Horkheimer and Adorno's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* plays the focal role in this chapter which Auerbach's *Mimesis* played in its predecessor. In the third and final chapter, 'Writing the law', Derrida moves to centre stage. This chapter deals

1. *Thesis Eleven* 40 (1995) 1-24.

with the implications of the doctrines of autonomy for control, and argues that the ideology of aestheticism has underpinned a notion of interiorised self-control which has proved just as oppressive as the authoritarian influence of the pre-reformation church. In the late 18th century and early 19th century age of revolution, Culture became a powerful weapon of conservatism, deployed to protect bourgeois interests both from radical challenge and from lower-class aspirations to embourgeoisement.

Where does Rome figure in all this? Lambropoulos argues that the 'Roman model' remained untheorised because of its association with the Catholic church and with feudalism. Yet the ramifications of the Greek/Roman opposition deserve further exploration. One can only agree with him that Hellenism, the model of freedom, has constituted the main vehicle of order (p.38). The contemporaneous emergence of Hellenism and the examination in late 18th-century England was surely not coincidental. Yet the learning of Latin became the crucial disciplinary foundation on which the crowning glories of Greek learning, both reading and composition, were erected. The two languages came to symbolise the ambiguous virtue of freedom/wildness and the more straightforward stability of orderly rigour. The contrast emerges into the spotlight towards the end of the 19th century, when amid fears of ochlocracy and the unpredictability of an extended and educated electorate, it was the disciplining power of Latin which was supported across a wide social and political spectrum. 'Rome we know', declared the classical scholar J.W. Mackail in 1904; 'Rome has laid down for us a realisable standard of human conduct. . . . Greece rears aloft, wavering and glittering before us, an unrealisable ideal of superhuman intelligence.'²

It is in such cases, where one can examine the role of classical culture in the emergence of systems of liberty and control in democratic societies, that Lambropoulos' thesis might be tested, if only in detail. He states, for example, that 'The Roman social order served as a model for 19th-century Germany' (p.79). True, but as

2. J.W. Mackail, 'The place of Greek and Latin in human life', *Proceedings of the Classical Association* (1904) 12. Mackail was no enemy of idealism or of the aesthetic, being Burne-Jones's son-in-law, William Morris's biographer and a convinced socialist.

James Whitman, whose work he cites, has observed, by the 1860s the project of remaking German in a Roman legal mould lay in ruins.³ The most challenging sites for a continued exploration of the book's themes, however, are Greece and Israel. The complex theorising of Greece in Europe has been perceptively discussed by Michael Herzfeld in his *Anthropology through the Looking Glass* (Cambridge 1987).⁴ The labyrinthine politics of Jewish identity are revealed with great clarity in a recent study by Eliezer Ben-Rafael in a multi-generational sociolinguistic analysis which relates diasporic variety to internal divisions.⁵ In each case, visions of community are involved in the historical making and remaking of communities. These suggestions should not be taken to imply that Lambropoulos himself is dealing with Jews and Greeks; he makes it clear that 'Hebraism' and 'Hellenism' belong to a different order. But they can certainly indicate the book's power of provocation.

The Rise of Eurocentrism tackles a large subject, traversing wide vistas in a way few other books have done. A comparison which comes to mind is with R.D. Cumming's two-volume *Human Nature and History: a study of the development of liberal political thought* (Chicago 1969), which also deals with the history of the European engagement with the Hellenic. Reviewing the book at the time some time after it appeared, Alasdair MacIntyre suggested that it had yet to find an audience. Like Cumming's book, *The Rise of Eurocentrism* challenges the reader's stamina; to a greater degree, in fact, since complexity of treatment and style is superadded to complexity of subject matter. The text reveals its author's intelligence at every turn. But there are many turns, and I suspect that this book's self-consciously artful construction and wilful density of style will make it accessible only to the learned interpreters of academic texts. They not only provide an audience for the book, but also belong to its subject matter. 'Interpretation, the first political right of the middle class, the fundamental

3. J.Q. Whitman *The Legacy of Roman Law in the German Romantic Era. Historical Vision and Legal Change* (Princeton 1990).

4. It is perhaps a cheering omen for Lambropoulos that Herzfeld's book was slow in finding an audience, but is now securely established.

5. E. Ben-Rafael, *Language, identity, and social division* (Oxford 1994).

exercise of reason, remains the last vestige of modernity, a remnant of privilege and status for intellectuals only, to be sure, and yet their influential way of supporting the high bourgeois order which has been for some time their single source of support.' (p.329)

In his introduction, the author warns us that his exposition will not be conventionally linear — he may play the game, but will not necessarily show all his cards. Further, he will not be bound by rationality or consistency: 'This kind of approach is rather uninterested in [the demand for] rational consistency. . . . It does not provide a linear history, an interdisciplinary overview, or a consistent narrative.' [pp.xii-xiii] His chapters are so organised that 'When enough courses and detours have been explored to make the starting point disorientingly conditional and contingent, the chapter stops.' (p.xii) The reader must face the prospect of becoming lost in this text. Yet one cannot fail to be impressed both by Lambropoulos' learning and by his dexterity in synthesising what he has learned. His artfulness, too, is at times engaging, as in the gambit which opens his first chapter: 'Readers of *Mimesis* will remember the well-prepared and touching comparison in Chapter One . . .', words which echo Auerbach's own opening sentence, quoted on the same page (p.3). Elsewhere there are other deft strokes, as blocks of material are summarised and brought into play. Yet the sheer tonnage of reference and quotation is often oppressive. The British prime minister Harold Wilson, formerly an academic teacher of economics, once confessed that he had tried to read Marx's *Das Kapital*, but had never got beyond the long footnote on page 32. Lambropoulos' text has no footnotes — his notes are tucked away at the end of the book — but its flow at times becomes silted with references. He tells us in his preface that he engages directly with his sources so as to 'move beyond a dialectical notion of debate'. I take this to imply a contrast between sterile eristic antics and a constructive intellectual project, but remain, here as elsewhere, uncertain. The bibliography, with well over a thousand titles, testifies to the author's knowledge of and engagement with a wide range of theoretical positions: from Heidegger to Bourdieu, from Levinas to Derrida, from Hegel to Bernal. Lambropoulos is clearly at home in the fantastic stratosphere of deconstructionist writing, and is capable of trenchant criticisms of, among others, Derrida. (The reader

who, having reached p.288, contemplates withdrawal from the text may be en/discouraged by L's account of the 'orgasmic sentences' of Derrida the 'gay rabbi'.) More lasting rewards come with re-reading, and I found my respect for the author increasing with each attempt. This daedalic book repays persistence.

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Evro Layton, *The sixteenth century Greek book in Italy. Printers and publishers for the Greek world*. Venice: Library of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Studies No. 16, 1994. pp.xxxii, 611.

The study of Greek printing in Italy is founded on sound nineteenth-century beginnings. The bibliographical works of Emile Legrand, despite his occasional gullibility, remain an essential point of reference for any new research. Legrand's systematic studies have been supplemented and, in important respects, revised in the course of the twentieth century as new editions have come to light, old assumptions have been challenged and some newer approaches have been applied. Notable contributions have come, during the past three decades, from scholars of both older and younger generations, including Enrica Follieri, Linos Politis, Caterina Carpinato, Philippos Iliou, Stefanos Kaklamanis, Giorgos Kechagioglou, Fani Mavroeidi, Georgios Ploumidis and Giorgos Veloudis. The *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία* of Thomas Papadopoulos (Athens 1984) is a comprehensive codification of known or attested editions down to 1800. Evro Layton has produced several major articles correcting and adding to previous studies, and in 1990 created something of a sensation with her identification of the previously unknown first edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis. The effect of this major discovery was to raise the date of the first known printed Modern Greek literary text to 1509. Nonetheless, there remains a lack of comprehensive studies of the early stages of Greek printing, to bring together the fruits of these researches and make

Apprehending the Archangel Michael: hagiographic methods¹

GLENN PEERS

This essay examines the means by which hagiographies attempt to describe the presence and appearances of the Archangel Michael. It deals with several hagiographies at some length in order to demonstrate the ways in which each text persuades its audience of the Archangel's benign proximity. It examines, in particular, the hagiographies of the miracle at Chonae since the 'pre-history' of this cult is relatively clear and the shrine's activities during the Byzantine period were widely acclaimed. This essay also discusses other hagiographies, namely of the sanctuary at Monte Gargano and of the shrine described by Michael Psellus (1018-1081?). In examining these texts, certain structural similarities become apparent: access to the Archangel is made difficult by his unique angelic nature and this difficulty led to textual strategies that make Michael more firmly entrenched in the texts' levels of narrative. The hagiographies reveal Michael's elusive,

1. This paper was initially conceived as a seminar delivered at the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham, in May, 1990. I would like to express my thanks here to Professor A.A.M. Bryer for that kind invitation, as well as for the encouragement he has offered me on other occasions. That paper has undergone many changes since then, due mainly to the support and advice of Stéphane Beaurroy, A. Peter Booth, Cathy Chadwick, Sirlol Davies, Herbert L. Kessler, Dirk Krausmüller, Derek Krueger, Gordon Ramsay, Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, Jill and Ken Storer, Ann van Dijk, David Jordan and the staff of the Gennadius Library. All responsibility for the views expressed in this essay belongs to me.

ABBREVIATIONS:

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|-------------|---|
| Bonnet | M. Bonnet, <i>Narratio de miraculo a Michaelae Archangelo Chonis patrato</i> (Paris 1890). |
| Kurtz/Drexl | Michael Psellus, <i>Scripta minora</i> , 2 vols., ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl (Milan 1936-41). |
| Leanza | S. Leanza, 'Una versione greca inedita dell' <i>Apparitio S. Michaelis in monte Gargano</i> ', <i>Vetera Christianorum</i> 22 (1985) 291-316. |
| MGH | <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX</i> (Hannover 1878). |

elemental force active in a landscape, and work to bind the Archangel — notionally at least — to places in order to strengthen expectation of devotional return.

At the same time, by their use of metaphor and scriptural model, the texts reveal the distance that separates human comprehension from full knowledge of the Archangel. The disparity between this desire for a greater apprehension and the ultimate failure to describe, marks the verbal impasse in reports of the Archangel and his activities. Material images also share in this impasse. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron have argued recently that images of angels derive likeness from their appearances as related in the hagiographies. Yet hagiographic descriptions examined here do not provide stable models for representing the Archangel as they can for human saints; just the opposite, the impersonal iconography of angels subsumes an unknowable, unpredictable nature. Angels are fundamentally distinct: they are bodiless and immaterial and, therefore, raise separate problems of resemblance and presence in text and image. Like images, it is argued, hagiographic texts signal points of impasse beyond which description cannot go with any precision. Just the same, they provide means for apprehension that not only compels contemplation but also denies resemblance and complete discernment of the archangelic subject.

1. Manufacturing Signs of Presence in Hagiography and Cult

All hagiographies of the miracle at Chonae narrate the same series of events: a group of pagans attempts to destroy the shrine of Michael at Chonae along with the guardian, Archippus, by flooding the vicinity. At the last moment, Michael appears and creates a chasm into which the water is forced to flow. The shrine and its newly fashioned spring are henceforth wonder-working.

‘Lapses’ in topographic detail in the earliest, anonymous hagiography point to a composition distant from the shrine itself and at a later date, after the cult has been firmly established, likely in the eighth century.² The anonymous text was surely a re-working,

2. W. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before 170 A.D.* (New York-London 1893) 468, and 478.

however, of an early legend as the cult of angels, and especially Michael, had an ancient history around Chonae. That the hagiography was re-worked in the eighth century attests to the popularity of the cult in the Byzantine world, but also to a contemporary relevance of its subject.³ Other versions survive: Pantaleon wrote of the miracle in the late ninth/early tenth century;⁴ Sissinius wrote a hagiography of Michael at Chonae in the late tenth century;⁵ and Symeon Metaphrastes (d.ca. 1000) produced his own overblown reworking.⁶

One can be certain that the hagiography's 'lapses' in topographic knowledge work to a purpose, and communicate important information about the cult of the Archangel. Indeed, the hagiographies of the miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae were written as persuasive texts, intended to communicate models of proper and successful devotion to an audience. The texts also worked to convince an audience of access to Michael, and through him God, guaranteed by the miracle and appearance of the Archangel at a holy place.

Because the nature of the Archangel made for special problems of apprehension, localising the immaterial Archangel was a goal of cult practice and this strategy is reflected in the hagiographical texts in several ways. For instance, the miracle takes place at Colossae or Chairetopa, but the naming of the site is invariably changed by Michael in the hagiographies. In the text in the *Menologion* of Basil II (late tenth/early eleventh century), the tale begins in a deceptively colourless manner. The narrator says, 'in a town called Chonae, once

3. I argue in my unpublished dissertation, 'Representing Angels: Cult and Theology in Byzantine Art' (Johns Hopkins University, 1995), that the hagiography of the miracle at Chonae has common elements with eighth- and ninth-century 'non-iconophile' hagiographies analysed recently by Marie-France Auzépy. These common elements allow the Chonae hagiography to be situated in an eighth-/ninth-century context of dissent over proper worship and approach. See M.-F. Auzépy, 'L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: l'exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes', *BS* 53 (1992) 57-67, and my essay, 'Hagiographic models of worship of images and angels', forthcoming in *B*.

4. *MPG* 98, 1264A.

5. *AASS* Sept. 8, 41C ff.

6. Bonnet, 20ff. = *AB* 8 (1889) 308ff. See, for the hagiographies of Michael, *BHG*, nos. 128ff.

Colossae . . .’ and he then proceeds to explain how this name change took place.⁷ Michael appeared to his hermit and created a cleft in the rock into which the water flows, more miraculously than before. The final sentence is, ‘Thereafter the place was called Chonae.’ This text is a condensed version of the transformational capabilities of the Archangel, in this case for landscape. The two topographical markers, the setting stated at the outset which signals a change and the final sentence which signals the reason for the change, are parentheses within which Michael’s safeguarding of shrine and hermit take place. These markers, furthermore, give the narrative a sense of coherence, and, importantly for a healing shrine, continuity.

In the texts, the sense of place is also determined at a more fundamental level than narrative. The semantic play on ‘chone’ (funnel) and its verbal form ‘choneuo’ plant Michael’s action firmly in the landscape from the moment of his intervention and into the future.⁸ The anonymous redactor has Michael commanding the water into its course at the height of the drama, ‘Fling yourself into this funnel, and be funnelled into this chasm, and the splendour of this holy place will be throughout . . .’ (19,5-7)⁹ In the Metaphrastian text of the miracle Michael, before striking the rock, says to the water, ‘Funnel yourself into the funnel.’ (27,24) In the Menologion text, Michael in the penultimate sentence ‘funnels the water’ and, in the last, the narrator tells us that the place was henceforth called ‘funnels’ or Chonae.

This play is common, in some form, to all versions of the miracle.

7. *MPG* 117, 33CD. ‘In a town called Chonae, once Colossae, there was a man by the name of Archippus, prudent and God fearing. He settled at the spring, which gushed forth on account of the guardianship of the Archistrategos, and because of the many miracles, and conversions and baptisms which occurred at the spring, Archippus provoked the jealousy of the hellenes, who could not bear to see the wonderful miracles. Gnashing their teeth over the venerble agiasma, and over Archippus they gathered a great many sympathisers, and damned two rivers, and mixing them together, unleashed them directly to overturn the church, agiasma, and Archippus. As Archippus heard the roaring of the waters, he called on the Archistrategos to help. And straightaway he appeared and struck the rock with his staff which he held and he funneled the water into the opening. Thereafter the place was called Chonae.’

8. See H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1968) s.v. ‘χοανεύω’, iv.

9. All citations in the text refer to Bonnet.

The pun binds Michael's act precisely to exact properties of the site (in a region known for its uncertain geology, with fissures and hidden sources, now controlled and marked by Michael), as well as signifying an exact quality of site (as a place made salutary and benign by the extraordinary act of the Archangel).¹⁰ The hagiography's pseudo-etymology of 'chonaē', in linguistic terms, is 'retro-motivated', despite the apparent onomatopoeic nature of the act in the text.¹¹ The process of 'retro-motivation' implies a paradoxical inversion since the name, here Chonaē, determines the character of the event. The place, given new significance in the text, in fact pre-empts the independence of Michael's own actions. The paradoxical operation both situates him and deprives him of initiative at the heart of his own act. Moreover, the pre-determined quality of Michael's act is typologically reinforced by a parallel overtly made to Moses's miracle at Horeb (Ex. 17:6). The inherent difficulties of describing an indescribable being and the processes by which he made his presence known are indicated, but circumvented, by this retro-motivation and typology.

Michael's imprint on the material world, here the physical realignment of his shrine and renewal of the miraculous qualities of the inexhaustible spring, is the only possible relic for a bodiless angel. The relic of an angel can only be negative, as the common epithets of the angels, bodiless (ἄσώματος) or immaterial (ἄυλος), are only negative attributes. At Chonaē, the relic is not additive, since nothing is left behind; Michael alters the landscape and in that way leaves

10. See E. Gothein, 'L'arcangelo Michele, santo popolare dei Longobardi', *Rassegna Pugliese di scienze, lettere ed arte* 13 (1896) 108-9. Similarly, F.W. Hasluck, *Letters on Religion and Folklore* (London 1926) 85ff., stated that Michael's connection with Chonaē was with the chasm and not the spring. He saw Michael's role as primarily of a 'devil-dompter' at the mouth of hell; as the opponent of the devil, Michael took care of healings and madness.

11. P. Guiraud, 'Étymologie et ethymologia (Motivation et rétro-motivation)', *Poétique* 11 (1972) 408, 'Mais dans tous les exemples ici en cause le nom reprend ses droits et c'est lui qui motivé le statut sémiologique du signifié: la forme crée le fond, le mot engendre la chose, par un procédé que l'on pourrait appeler "rétro-motivation".' And also, N. Struever, 'Fables of Power', *Representations* 4 (1983) 112, 'In retro-motivation, names create situations, narratives generate structures, words engender things; . . . the newly endowed word is then used as a proof of phenomenal character or event . . .' (My thanks to Stéphane Beauroy for talking over this point and suggesting this article.)

traces of his immaterial presence. In the face of the natural uncertainties surrounding the Archangel, this alteration is the only positive proof possible. Moreover, a place is seen to be inaugurated in the texts where regular exchange with the incomprehensible Archangel is possible, and where a balance of prayer and reward is effected. Cult binds Michael to the site as the retro-motivated act embeds him within the very topography.

This structure of transformation and imprint is common to hagiographies concerning the Archangel Michael, and is often an attribute of Michael's successful sanctuaries. For this reason, an examination of other miracle shrines and their texts is useful in order to situate this structure further in the cult of the Archangel Michael. The shrine of the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano in Apulia in southern Italy has long been recognised as a descendant of the cult of Michael at Chonae.¹² The hagiography of Michael at Gargano dates in its present form to the eighth or ninth century,¹³ and a Greek version was written in the late ninth or early tenth century at the time of the Byzantine re-conquest of the region.¹⁴

The structural similarities, in the means by which the immaterial Archangel is grounded and made more really present, are striking in the cases of Chonae and Gargano.¹⁵ In the Gargano hagiography, the first appearance of the Archangel brought about a re-naming of the mountain. For now, 'ex eventu',¹⁶ the mountain is named after

12. See, for instance, G. Otranto, 'Il "Liber de apparitione," il santuario di San Michele sul Gargano e il Longobardi del Ducato di Benevento', *Santuari e politica nel mondo antico*, ed. M. Sodi (Milan 1983) 241ff.

13. G. Otranto, 'Il "Liber de apparitione" e il culto di San Michele sul Gargano nella documentazione liturgica altomedievale', *Vetera Christianorum* 18 (1981) 440ff.

14. This text was first reported by A. Petrucci, *Una versione greco-bizantina dell'Apparitio Sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano* (Rome 1955); and it has been subsequently edited by Sandro Leanza with new readings now found in his 'Altre due versioni greche inedite dell'Apparitio Sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano', in *Culto e insediamenti micheelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda Antichità e Medioevo*, ed. C. Carletti and G. Otranto (Bari 1994) 85-93.

15. W.v. Rintelen, *Kultgeographische Studien in der Italia Byzantina. Untersuchungen über die Kulte des Erzengels Michael und der Madonna di Costantinopoli in Süditalien* (Meisenheim am Glan 1968) 15.

16. *AASS* Sept. 8, 60B.

the wealthy Garganus who is injured by his own arrow inexplicably returned 'as if breathed upon by wind'.¹⁷ Like at Chonae, Michael worked at this nominative level and he also transformed the holy site in a manner that specifically signalled archangelic agency. The gradual construction of the chapel and his own heavenly consecration stated Michael's voluntary presence. Traces were found on the mountain of the Archangel's presence — 'a small trace, as if the footsteps of a man, struck there in the marble.'¹⁸ 'By means of the signs of his tracings, this church was called the προσποδῆριον,' or the Apodonia in the Latin text.¹⁹ The impression of Michael's 'body' is, furthermore, a dynamic relic, reductive and, yet, stamped at the focus of cult, the altar, a sign of immanence contained.²⁰

The 'digging' and manufacture of the cave-church is specified in the prologue to the Greek text as an incontrovertible sign of the Archangel's visitation and presence. At the same spot, a chapel was discovered ready made, carved out of the living rock 'as if by the hands of the Archangel.' The chapel was clearly not produced by human hands, the narrator remarks, because the chapel was so irregular and rough, so full of corners and angles, that only an Archangel could have manufactured it.²¹ The very roughness and oddity of the construction was remarked upon as a sign of the benevolence and heartfelt solicitation of devotion. Every corner and crevice of the chapel is infused with Michael's presence, as Michael's extraordinary act of intervention at Chonae impressed his presence on the spring and chasm. Since Gargano was the radiating point for the cult of Michael for the West, the idiosyncratic construction and

17. Leanza, 301,38-9, *AASS* Sept. 8, 61C, and *MGH* 541,28-31.

18. *AASS* Sept. 8, 61E, *MGH* 542,23-4, and Leanza, 303,98ff.

19. Leanza, 303,105-304,107.

20. Footprints are common signs of presence in ancient sanctuaries throughout the Mediterranean, and they state presence, either of the divinity or of the worshipper. See K.M.D. Dunbabin, "'Ipsa deae vestigia . . .'" Footprints Divine and Human on Graeco-Roman Monuments', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3 (1990) 85-109. (Dr. Nancy Bookidis very kindly provided me with this reference.)

21. Leanza, 306,156ff; *AASS* Sept. 8, 62AB; *MGH* 543,4-14.

shape of the church was consistently imitated in other shrines in Italy and the rest of Europe.²²

These quantifiable signs are momentous within the cult of Michael since, as the narrator of the Greek hagiography states, 'order is made through signs and heavenly power.'²³ The first incident on Gargano was really a signal of intent by Michael and the returned arrow is noteworthy in the hagiography because of its ambiguity and fleeting quality. Further, the dreams to the bishop whereby the chapel is gradually revealed are transitory visions in the murky realms of the unconscious, and they are restricted to one person. The irrefutable physical impressions made by the Archangel are the elements which inspired the collective imagination and were reproduced in other sanctuaries. Michael was thought to be bridled somehow by these marks of voluntary presence so that his immaterial being is mediated and made, in some way, comprehensible through matter.

Psellus's hagiography of the Archangel Michael provides an important contrast to the hagiographies of the miracles at Chonae and Gargano and their cult certainties. The precise location of the shrine described by Psellus is not known, since he presented little topographical detail, but it may well have been in Galatia in Asia Minor, perhaps in the city of Sykeon.²⁴ In the prologue to the *encomium*, Psellus extolled the splendid qualities of the Archangel.

22. Gothein, 'L'arcangelo Michele', 141. And see G. Otranto, C. Carletti, *Il santuario di S. Michele arcangelo sul Gargano dalle origine al X secolo* (Bari 1990) 57ff., and O. Campagna, 'La grotta di S. Michele alla Serra di Grisolia', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s.40 (1986) 57-65, on the typology of Michael's cave sanctuaries. On mountain top sanctuaries, see T. Baumeister, 'Religionsgeschichtliche und kultgeographische Aspekte der westlichen Michaelsverehrung,' in *Memoriam sanctorum venerantes: miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Victor Saxer* (Studi di antichità cristiana, 48. Vatican City 1992) 11-19.

23. Lanza, 300, 5-7.

24. On the topography, see E.A. Fisher, 'Nicomedia or Galatia? Where Was Psellos' Church of the Archangel Michael?' in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 170ff. (My thanks to Nancy Ševčenko for this reference); and C. Mango, 'La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de Saint-Michel de Sykéon', *Cahiers archéologiques* 36 (1988) 48. See, also, now B. Martin-Hasard, 'Le culte de l'archange Michel dans l'empire byzantin (VIII-XIe siècles)', in *Culto e insediamenti micaelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda Antichità e Medioevo*, ed. C. Carletti and G. Otranto (Bari 1994) 356ff.

Michael surpasses in measure and magnitude the nature and deeds of humanity. One must ‘. . . announce the great things of the nature over us . . .’, and proclaim the miracles of the Archangel even more than the human saints.

Psellus then proceeded to narrate the events that led up to the foundation of the church of Michael. Heraclius (ca. 575-641) was in the course of returning to Constantinople after a triumphant campaign against the Persians in the Holy Land.²⁵ The emperor had decided to rest on this return journey in the vicinity of a church dedicated to the Theotokos and he deposited the cross on the altar of that church for the duration of the stay. When it was time to recommence the journey, Heraclius sent some soldiers to collect the cross at the church. However, the cross refused to be moved and could not be dislodged from the altar no matter what effort was applied to it, ‘just as some rocky outcrop is unshaken by waves falling upon it.’²⁶ Almost immediately the soldiers were distracted by a second and more wondrous miracle, when the cross kindled into strange flame.

‘The sparks of an unseen fire shone forth at first. Thereupon, the cross caught fire entirely. And the kindling increased a little, and with a little help it, having been brought altogether to a head, also spread through the whole building and around the church. And now [the fire] was thrown from the building and it seemed that the whole thing was about to be burned. . . . But the fire was consumed in the same way as the ancient bush. Whence it burned, it did not consume the church, but rather the church burning to ashes was beaming with light. And in the same way that it had been attacked invisibly, in this same way it was again extinguished with the flames quenched, and the church showed forth as before, only more pure than it had been. But at least I do not suppose that this was a somatic fire, though it had been seen and considered by many in this way, but the divine Archangel decided to appear out of immateriality possessing a being of fire, in the church of the Mother of God, since the intelligible lightning of burning heat was being made manifest to the onlookers as sensual burning heat.’²⁷

When the emperor heard of this miracle, he was greatly moved and he commissioned churches for the Archangel and the Mother of God

25. Kurtz/Drexler, I, 121,26ff.

26. Kurtz/Drexler, I, 125,12ff.

27. Kurtz/Drexler, I, 126,1ff.

as well as providing monks for the foundation, thereby 'making an angelic order on earth for the Archangel.'²⁸ According to Psellus, the former flame still burns in their hearts, overseen by the Archangel.

This is a remarkable miracle not least because of the inscrutability of the cause. The agency of Michael is not stated except by the nature of the miracle which has congruity with Michael's own nature. Michael's fiery and spiritual constitution seems to have been the only possible means by which such a paradoxical miracle could have been accomplished. Psellus, moreover, could not state the reason for Michael's intervention in a church of the Theotokos through an object, which Psellus himself said, is inextricably linked to Christ himself. Psellus offered two possibilities,

'Either he wanted to take up residence in this sacred church and to perform miracles there, or honouring the image of the Virgin, he desired to serve under the personal command of the queen there.'²⁹

Psellus confessed he did not know for certain. He continued his hagiography with descriptions of some of the miracles that followed on this miraculous enunciation of intent by the Archangel. Michael brings about cures and miracles in a number of ways, either through the agency of the cross, or by the person simply being in the church or taking sacraments. By these means, Michael shows his 'great power' and his 'overshadowing presence.'³⁰ The inscrutability of Michael's presence is noteworthy when compared to the direct, unmistakable traces left at Chonae and Gargano. And yet Michael's presence is contained and channelled through the cross there and this object is understood to be a conduit for Michael's activity, '... by which and in which the great Archistrategos works miracles ...'³¹ Michael's immanence has thereby found some kind of cast.

The bodiless Archangel, who has no earthly existence, is known through such imprints and transformations of the perceptible world

28. Kurtz/Drexler, I, 126,24ff.

29. Kurtz/Drexler, I, 126,19-22.

30. Kurtz/Drexler, I, 133,13-15.

31. Kurtz/Drexler, I, 130,20ff.

and not proven by remnants of a physical, mundane past. The relative stability of the effects, and the wonders deriving from them, is a necessary counterbalance to the essentially incomprehensible nature of the cause, the Archangel Michael. For this reason, the importance of place in the cult of the Archangel Michael is underlined by the Archangel's own promise of intent in the accounts of the Chonae miracle. At the climax of the hagiography, with the water standing before them to the height of ten persons, Michael struck the impenetrable rock which resounded throughout the land like thunder. Michael then made his vow,

'In this very place will be crushed all suffering and every evil and illness and enchantment and poison and all workings of wickedness. Here all fetters will be loosened and the troubled and the feeble will be healed . . .' (18,8-12).

At Gargano, Michael also made explicit the motive behind his appearances. He appeared to Garganus and to the bishop, and constructed the chapel, in order that he might make known his will to remain present with benevolent purpose at that site. The material traces of this difficult presence at a blessed place are the signs the cult depended upon and are the common structure of these texts and the cult the texts relate.

The difficulties of perception and comprehension of the angels, and particularly the active and popular Michael, made certain strategies desirable in cult and its textual manifestations. The enigmatic nature of the Archangel found counterbalances in the positive proofs of cult, that is, material traces of the bodiless Archangel. On a textual level, the hagiographies underscore the importance of material traces by such devices as reto-motivation and re-nomination that undercut Michael's presence and will within the texts' own logic. According to the hagiographies of the miracle at Chonae, the landscape has witnessed in a crucial sense Michael's presence and still contains the effects of that intervention. In a more radical, more thoroughgoing way, the landscape is a witness, since — as will be seen — autopsy is elusive and illusory.

2. Impasse in Descriptions of the Archangel

Verbal descriptions in hagiographies of angels, including the Archangel Michael, were determined to a large extent by pre-existing

structures derived from scripture and other texts. These descriptions are recognisably 'borrowed' and thus venerable because of their origins. They create familiarity and seek to persuade the audience as to the hagiographies' verity. At the same time, the unoriginal quality of the descriptions work to another purpose: descriptions of the Archangel obtained from scriptural passages reporting epiphanies indicate the inability of language to render an Archangel or angel.

The encounter of holy man and angel at Chonae, as described in the hagiographies, is very much within the scriptural structure of divine epiphany. Furthermore, the encounter indicates the difficulties attendant in confronting and perceiving an angelic being. Archippus had no sooner finished his Psalm than there arose a great peal of thunder outside the chapel and the Archistrategos appeared. (14,16ff.) In the dialogue that ensues, Michael tries to calm the very shaken monk. This structure of awful epiphany and conciliation — not to mention the preparations — has an obvious antecedent in the appearance of the 'one like the similitude of the sons of men' to Daniel (Dan. 10:1ff.). Michael called out to the monk in a 'great voice' to leave the shrine before he is plunged in the water. Archippus came out very cautiously and saw a vision 'glancing like lightning', and he fell to the ground 'as if dead'.³²

At this moment Archippus is given a full vision of the power of his protector and of his faith: the Archangel is a pillar of fire from earth to heaven.³³ In Exodus, the Angel of the Lord who led the Israelites out of the desert is described identically (Ex. 14:24). Moreover, Michael's fiery nature, established by scripture, often manifests itself

32. Sissinius, *AASS* Sept. 8, 46EF, describes Michael further as a 'flashing forth of angelic glory', an implicit comparison to Moses at Exodus 34: 29ff. For instance, Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 330-ca. 395), *MPG* 44, 1025C, says that Moses was like the sun, with 'the light flashing forth from his face.'

Archippus's reaction is not untypical of such a dreadful epiphany: see C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven. A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York 1982) 367.

33. The same description is found in the Metaphrastic version (Bonnet, 27,8-9). Sissinius, *AASS* Sept. 8, 46E, signals the indescribable nature of the vision with ὥσει στύλος πυρὸς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν standing on the hard rock near the shrine. The 'just as' is a significant marker of an approximate description.

in texts on epiphanies. Fire is a textual veil for the difficult nature and aspect established by scripture.

The encounter clearly owes some of its structure of awful epiphany, incomprehensible vision, comforting and revelations, to the Book of Daniel, and the Gospel according to Matthew, too (28:2ff., for example). The identification of the vision is equally fraught. Michael stated his identity in terms that invoke the meeting of Joshua and the angel before the battle of Jericho (Joshua 5:14). Like Joshua, Archippus misapprehends the nature of the epiphany but he saves the situation by not falling on his face and worshipping the 'captain of the host of the Lord' as Joshua did. The appearance of the angel to Joshua occurs on holy ground for he tells Joshua, 'Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy' (5:15). The appearance of Michael at Chonae is *also* the marking of a permanently hallowed spot, as his promises indicate. In other words, the sanctification of the site, and the identification of the agent of that sanctification, is textually pre-determined.

Michael's appearances at Chonae, that is, in the hagiographic text, are multiform. In the destructive schemes of the local pagans, Michael made his presence known in several different ways. The first plan of the pagans was direct assault but this goes wrong when they encountered at the source an inexplicable phenomenon, 'Those who came saw flames of fire reflecting from the water in their own faces. And in this way the disbelievers were turned back, having been overpowered.' (9,2-5) After this, the pagans determined an indirect approach would accomplish their ends better, and they diverted the river Chryses; but Michael's invisible intervention subverted that plot as well: the river divided in two and missed the shrine altogether. The pagans then decided to go one better and they dammed the Lykokaphros and the Kouphos until the rivers had enough power to overwhelm the shrine, the hermit and the agiasma. At this point, the most dramatic epiphany occurred,

'In order therefore that the just be safeguarded, and the site of his agiasma, the church . . . and that God be extolled, he who makes great and inscrutable miracles, the Archangel Michael acting as servant was seen, just as a pillar of fire reaching

from the earth to the heavens, and standing on the immovable rock by the shrine . . .³⁴

The hagiography describes, then, a progression of revelation, all of a difficult and incomprehensible nature. Michael's mutability is an inescapable aspect of his appearances, as well as the manner in which human comprehension and description comes up short in the face of such epiphanies. The security of the Old Testament visions of angelic epiphanies offer a kind of textual anchor in these hagiographies for otherwise impossible descriptions.

The hagiographic renderings of the epiphany on the mountainside at Gargano likewise used direct borrowings from scripture to describe Michael's terrible appearance. The day after he had appeared in a dream to the bishop predicting the Sipontini's 'angelic victory,' Michael made his presence on the mountain known through rumblings, darkness, and lightning, which explicitly recall Exodus 19:16,

'And it came to pass on the third day, when it was morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp trembled.'

The Greek text is more overt about its scriptural models and also calls up images from Isaiah 60:2 ('For behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples; But upon thee the Lord will arise, and His glory shall be seen upon thee.').³⁵ The fire which mysteriously announced the presence of Michael at the shrine of Psellus is clearly derived in the particulars of the textual description from the scene of Moses and the Burning Bush in Exodus (3:2ff.). Michael as the fire which does not consume the bush, as the pillar

34. *AASS* Sept. 8, 46E. According to Sissinius, Michael disappeared as incomprehensibly as he arrived, 'The venerable one saw him as if a flame of fire streamed up into the heavens; filled with puzzlement and fear, he went back to sing psalms in the holy shrine, "God has sent his angel and liberated and saved me from the snares of the beasts, and he guarded his sacred shrine from the inundation of the waters."' (*AASS* Sept. 8, 47AB.)

35. Leanza, 303,83ff. and 315; *AASS* Sept. 8, 61D.

of fire that led the Israelites, as the lightning and darkness on Sinai, are all sanctioned allusions to incomprehensible epiphanies of divine power.³⁶

The hagiographies did not efface Michael's character as an angel of nature, or as an elemental force. The choice of texts from scripture emphasises this aspect of the Archangel's nature while also pointing to the Archangel's essential indescribability. Michael's character is often expressed by such naturalistic metaphors like fire and thunder and lightning, and, as Olga Rojdestvensky wrote, Michael is typically described in such elemental terms as, '... vols des éclairs, détonations des orages, chant des sources, bruit des cataractes, mystère des gouffres et des grottes, silence éternel des sommets.'³⁷ The descriptions of Michael are in an essential way 'profondément dissemblables'³⁸, and the revelation at Chonae and his personal intervention in the local geography were strategies by which Michael's expansive and elusive character was given delineation and real presence.³⁹

The topos concerning the distance between humanity and the angels common to theological speculation is equally present in the hagiographic descriptions of the acts of the angels in this world. Pantaleon, in his hagiography of the Archangel Michael, was explicit about the inability of words to convey, and human comprehension to embrace, the nature of the angels.⁴⁰ In his *encomium* to the Archangel Michael, Michael Psellus stated that it is difficult to describe the deeds of humanity, but the Archangel having surpassed any of these lies above in measure. Moreover, the Archangel remains beyond the praise deriving from speech, and is beyond the power of both the artful

36. One further example is the appearance of Michael to Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604) on top of Hadrian's Mausoleum, subsequently Castel San Angelo, in 590. (AASS Sept. 8, 72BC) The connection of the appearance of Michael to Gregory and 1 Chronicles was noted by Hasluck, *Letters on Religions and Folklore*, 84-5.

37. O. Rojdestvensky, *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen age latin* (Paris 1922) 54. See, also, W. Lucken, *Michael. Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen 1898) 73-4.

38. Rojdestvensky, *Le culte de saint Michel*, 55.

39. Gothein, 'L'arcangelo Michele', 108-9.

40. MPG 140, 573B-574B.

and artless; Michael surpasses the abilities of language to describe and honour. The difficulties of understanding are crucial since, as Psellus stated, it is in the seeing and the hearing of a paradoxical, incomprehensible event that true faith is established.⁴¹ Faith, in the face of the inexplicable event communicated by the hagiography, is paradoxically the first step to comprehension.⁴²

If the real description is, therefore, impossible, then recognition and identification of angelic epiphany is equally fraught with risk of failure. Archippus was completely at a loss until Michael stated his identity in terms comprehensible to a man, and to the listener due to the scriptural meaning behind this particular identification. At Gargano, Michael was identified subsequently by dream revelation and more securely by the material effects. In his *'vita'* of Michael, Pantaleon also related a miracle at the church of Michael at Eusebios, Constantinople, concerning a certain Chandler Marcianus. All the doors of the church were suddenly flung open and towards him came 'a fearful man as out of the heaven, with a rush descending on horseback on a white and terrible steed.'⁴³ Michael was dressed in the robe of a *praepositus*, or court official.⁴⁴ Marcianus knew only the terrifying aspect of his ecstatic vision until Michael stated his proprietorship of the shrine. Although Michael led Marcianus to the candle before his own icon, the icon played no role in determining the identity of the vision but only the place and means of real healing.

Visual identification of an Archangel is not possible, since hagiography and theology both agree that he has no form fully comprehensible to humans. Consequently, any stable resemblance

41. Kurtz/Drexler, I, 120,1ff. and 127,16-7.

42. This again is a topos of discussion of angels. See, for instance, the sermon 'On Faith' by Philoxenus of Mabbug (ca. 440-523), in E.A.W. Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbugh, A.D. 485-519. Vol. II. Introduction, Translation, etc.* (London 1894) 29-31. For Pantaleon, the process of apprehension is also indirect; see MPG 140, 575AB.

43. The parallel with the appearance of the angels to drive Apollonius out of the temple in the Third Book of Maccabees is striking: '... there appeared from heaven angels, with flashing armour, who filled them with dread and terror. Then did Apollonius fall half dead in the court of the Gentiles and he stretched his hands to heaven...' See *The Third and Fourth Book of Maccabees*, trans. M. Hadas (New York 1953/rp. New York 1976) 164 (4:9-14).

44. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels 1963) 149-50.

in images of such a being is out of reach. Cyril Mango has written that the angels are represented as they are, that is, as beardless, winged young men, because they appear this way, 'Whenever angels and archangels make themselves manifest in the Lives of saints and other edifying texts they do so in the guise of eunuchs or imperial *cubicularii*, not that of emperors.'⁴⁵ Instances of the angels appearing as eunuchs are not uncommon.⁴⁶ Yet the texts are not homogeneous in this regard, as the hagiographies of the Archangel Michael discussed above show.⁴⁷ Moreover, the relation between hagiographic description and the images of angels is not straightforward. Making images of angels is not a matter of transcription of visual information (or even textual description), since clearly visions of these beings are nearly impossible to process and comprehend.

Identification of an angel by means of the description on an image was theoretically possible, however, if not in any way definitive. In the *encomium* of Psellus, a monk named Ephraim was able to recognise Michael since the Archangel had chosen the form manifested on his image for this epiphany in the monastery's church.⁴⁸ And the hagiography of Artemius, written in the 660s about his shrine in the church of John the Baptist in Oxeia at Constantinople, describes an identification of an angel.⁴⁹ One of the stories in the hagiography describes the night vision of a young girl, Euphemia.⁵⁰ In her vision,

45. C. Mango, 'St. Michael and Atis', *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 12 (1984) 44. However, see Mango's advice (*ibid.*, 44 n7) with regard to the so-called cross of Michael Cerularius in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

46. The middle Byzantine assimilation of court officials, particularly eunuchs, and angels, and the incongruities of that assimilation, have been examined recently by E.V. Maltese, 'Gli angeli in terra: sull'immaginario dell'angelo bizantino', *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 24 (1990) 111-32.

47. Finally, one need only browse through the many texts concerning Michael and the other angels collected by E. Amélineau, in *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne* (Paris 1888), to realise the endless variations possible.

48. Kurtz/Drexler, I, 138,23-7. On this episode, see A. Cutler, R. Browning, 'In the Margins of Byzantium? Some Icons in Michael Psellos', *BMGS* 16 (1992) 24-5.

49. C. Mango, 'On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople', *Zograf* 10 (1979) 40ff.

50. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra. Sbornik Greceskich Neizdannych Bogoslovskich Tekstov IV-XV Vekov* (Leipzig 1909/rp. Leipzig 1975) 52-3, and Mango, 'On the History of the *Templon*', 43.

angels led her to the lead coffin of the eponymous saint of the shrine, Artemius, and made her lie down in it. The coffin was then locked by the saint, trapping her inside. When she awoke, recovered from her illness, she gave an account of her vision. Her mother asked her if she had seen the angels, and Euphemia replied that she had. Her mother then asked her in what form had they appeared. The girl answered by indicating the images of the angels found in that church.

The mother's question is telling. In asking what form the angels used, she was acknowledging the possibility of other guises. And in voluntarily making themselves commensurate with their appearance on images in the church, the angels revealed their ability to condescend in form for human comprehension. In other words, angels manifest their terrible elemental force in famous instances of awesome intervention but for this girl the angels took a benign aspect in keeping with her youth and fitness.

The topos of recognition of a holy person by means of his or her image has relevance for discussion of hagiographic descriptions of angels. For Gilbert Dagron, images play a central role in the identification of saints in hagiographies, to the point of fundamentally determining the manner in which saints were visually perceived.⁵¹ For example, Cosmas and Damian approach the bed of a supplicant '... in the form in which they are outlined.'⁵² A letter of Nilus of Ankyra (d.ca. 430) describes an episode of St. Platon's life in which he freed a monk's son from prison. Platon was recognised by the son through the saint's image.⁵³

The number of examples in which the image determines the nature of the vision is, however, quite limited. The majority of examples of appearances of saints, by far, is in forms of disguise, if a description is provided at all. Artemius appears as a butcher, sailor, patrician, and in other guises.⁵⁴ Cosmas and Damian appear in many different

51. G. Dagron, 'Holy Images and Likeness,' *DOP* 45 (1991) 30ff.; and also his 'Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi. Le rêve et son interprétation d'après les sources byzantines', in *I sogni nel medioevo*, ed. T. Gregory (Rome 1985) 42ff.

52. L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig 1907) 133,23-24.

53. See G.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols. in 58 pts. (Paris-Leipzig 1901-27) 13, 32C-33C.

54. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra*, 7,15-16, 14,5, 15,12-13, 35,21, 60,15-16.

guises (ἐν σχήματι κληρικῶν, for example), alone or with a third person; they do their work either by ‘invisible hands’ or ‘their own hands.’⁵⁵ This last denotes the really important aspect: their activity and traces of their activity radiate from the centre of their cult, that is, their bodies and relics. Nevertheless, the most significant admission concerning the nature of the saints’ appearances is that they appear ‘. . . in a form *not* their own,’⁵⁶ as the hagiography states. Another example is furnished by the hagiography of Kyros and John. The hagiography describes them as appearing fulgent, in white robes, in a monk’s habit, as doctors, as the deacon Julian and in various other guises, but also, significantly, in their *own* form.⁵⁷ Again, the saints are obliged to acknowledge an earthly existence, even after death, that determines the essential nature of their being, even if this does not altogether regulate their subsequent manifestations. Angels have no such mooring. They are changeable by nature and essentially unknowable — *all* their outward forms are not their own. Dagron’s generalisations about the nature of resemblance manifestly do not hold true in every case. Angels’ images do not, indeed cannot, resemble their models; the iconography of angels is a stable, impersonal sign of an elusive nature.⁵⁸

This essay has sought to indicate the means by which hagiographic texts, and cult as well, made the Archangel Michael more apprehensible and proximate. For a being who is bodiless, immaterial and elemental, the signs of appearance and presence made apparent in the texts are tangible and incontrovertible. Moreover, due to Michael’s uncontainable nature, they are impressions; Michael does not relinquish anything of his ‘body’, only indications of attendance. These signs that are both tangible and provisional give the texts and cult their special tension in that they simultaneously assert that he is really

55. See L. Deubner, *De incubatione capita quattor* (Leipzig 1900) 68ff.

56. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 99,21 [my stress]. And other examples of guises: 135,25, ‘appearing in the form of a περιχύτου,’ and 145,43-4, ‘. . . the two appeared to him in the forms of clerics.’

57. Deubner, *De incubatione*, 80ff.

58. I can only refer to this important issue in passing but I do examine it more fully in my dissertation, ‘Representing Angels: Cult and Theology in Byzantine Art’.

present but also powerfully immanent. By means of retro-motivation, indeed, Michael's acts, and even his will, are superseded by the texts' logic. The place name engenders its own sequence of activities and the text works backwards from 'the place was thereafter known as Chonae' to create Michael's seminal act pre-set by language itself.

This desire for more apprehensibility is the compliment of the other textual device examined here, that is how hagiographic texts 'got round' the difficulties of expressing the inexpressible nature of Michael. The seamless application of scriptural description to this task of expression is the clearest sign of descriptive impasse. On an overt level, the scriptural passages indicate enigmatic theophanies and venerable acts that parallel and prefigure Michael's own appearances and acts. Michael is like Moses in the miraculous manipulation of water for the protection of God's chosen people. Michael's manifestations recall the phenomena revealed to the prophets during sacred disclosures in the past. And the scriptural structures of receiving epiphany found in Daniel, Joshua and Matthew provide a mould within which witness under the New Covenant can be cast. In this sense, the narrators of these hagiographies of Michael provide scriptural models of revelation that are more recognisable and accessible descriptions of the Archangel's famous moments on earth.

On the level of latent meaning, the arrogation of description signals, at important points, inability, or even desire, of text and speech to render in an original or descriptive fashion a being like the Archangel Michael. On this level, recognition of the original site of the text, in Exodus or Matthew for instance, is not essential for the reader/listener. The descriptions of Michael as fire and earthquake and lightning do not rely for their full meaning on the reader/listener identifying the original context of the description. They signal the difficulty of comprehension, just the same, in their evocation of grand, irrational phenomena: the formless Archangel assumes all of these elements as his cloak but none are his own, none make him fully known.

Material images are likewise allusive to difficult nature, and this allusive quality makes angels' images incapable of possessing real likeness. Beings as transcendental as angels possess no definitive likeness inherently and images partake equally of this indefinable

resemblance. In areopagite terms, such images, textual and visual, are perceived as dissembling signs which the viewer engages intellectually and without adherence. In an epigram on an image of the Archangel Michael, Agathias (ca. 532-ca. 580) describes the process in practice,

'The wax, greatly daring, has represented the invisible, the incorporeal chief of the angels in the semblance of his form. Yet it was no thankless [task] since the mortal who beholds the image directs his mind to a higher contemplation. His veneration is no longer distracted: engraving within himself the [archangel's] traits, he trembles as if he were in the latter's presence. The eyes encourage deep thoughts, and art is able by means of colours to ferry over [to its object] the prayer of the mind.'⁵⁹

Agathias's description of an approach to images of angels reveals an ability to interpret material images as the symbolic means to knowledge of an incomprehensible creature. In this description of the image of the Archangel, the difficulty of comprehension derives from the incorporeal nature which would seem to be incompatible with material representation; but in Agathias's conception, the image also provides the viewer with the means to approach knowledge of the distant and immaterial Archangel by way of contemplation of the colours and outlines on the surface of the image. The material image is the bridge between mundane reality and spiritual truths otherwise unattainable.

Michael's bodiless, relic-less existence provides such signs for human comprehension — less ambiguous material effects such as Michael's transformations of landscape, imprints of invisibility, are essential proofs for a degree of knowledge of his activity and nature. Hagiographic texts and images work subtly. Texts exploit recognisable patterns from scripture to give the descriptions of events and appearances structure but at the same time deny any essential descriptiveness in their evocation of elemental and multiform wonders.

59. *The Greek Anthology*, 5 vols., ed. W.R. Paton (London 1927) 1, 34; trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire. 312-1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto 1986) 115.

In a comparable way, images depend on their non-resembling qualities to attract and lead the viewer to *recognition of a higher, invisible reality*. Michael transcends the ability of words and images to describe such a reality but it is this inability that draws and compels contemplation.

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Byzantines and Jews: some recent work on early Byzantium

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The publication of David Olster's book, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response and the Literary Construction of the Jew* (Philadelphia 1994) marks a further stage in the recent tendency to draw attention to the role played by Jews in the events of the early seventh century. As several other scholars have done, Olster draws attention to what seems to have been a heightened awareness of Jews and Judaism by the Christian majority in Byzantium in this period and during the next century or so. A number of contemporary examples survive of the Christian anti-Jewish literary dialogue form familiar in Greek since the second century AD; what is perhaps even more striking, anti-Jewish comments and whole passages on this topic also feature in many other kinds of writing in the period, even when they have no obvious relevance to the topic. Iconophile texts are pervaded by such material, in particular the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea in AD 787, and Jewish subject matter also appears in visual art. This review combines comments on Olster's book with a wider consideration of the topic itself and of other recent publications touching on it; it also asks why the subject became so pressing to contemporary Christians, and makes some suggestions about the interpretation of the relevant material.

* * *

It may be convenient to start by surveying Olster's arguments, which cover a good deal of the relevant ground while still leaving much unsaid. In essence, the book explains the anti-Jewish dialogues of the seventh century in political rather than religious terms: they are to be read as expressions of a sense of decline and instability. Roman (sic) defeat produces a rejection of history in favour of an apologetic of restoration (p.180) in which the Jews function as the cardboard

villains who allow the Christian writers a 'brazen' assertion of their own imperial superiority (p.182); their role in this literature, therefore, is more as a rhetorical device than as part of a serious religious debate. More than that, the Jews function, in fact, as 'a substitute for the Arabs' (*loc. cit.*); rather than engaging with the religious issues posed by the new religion of Islam, the Byzantine polemicists and apologists attack the more familiar target provided by the Jews.

These arguments are neither new nor implausible,¹ but as here set out they do not go very far or very deep. Nor are they expressed with any great subtlety. It would seem that the book was a long time in the press, and many recent works go without mention, including critical editions; in the chapter on the intriguing *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* (630s), for example, on which Olster has a number of interesting points to make, the author was able to refer to the new critical text and discussion by V. Déroche and G. Dagron,² but does not discuss their arguments in detail; the same goes for his chapters on the other Greek anti-Jewish dialogues in chap. 6, where there is a reference to, but no discussion of, V. Déroche's important article on the topic, in which they are placed in a chronological sequence.³ On Sophronius and Monotheletism (chap. 5), Olster does not cite

1. See e.g. John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge 1990) 345-48, who also notes the derogatory use of the terms 'Jew', 'Jewish' in Byzantine literature in contexts detached from reference to real Jews. Anti-Jewish polemic in this period is also seen as expressing anxiety about Muslim success in the recent book by Olster's teacher Walter E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge 1992) 210-27, especially 220-22, following his earlier article 'Initial Byzantine reactions to the Arab invasions', *Church History* 10 (1969) 139-49, to which Olster explicitly refers as an inspiration for his doctoral thesis.

2. G. Dagron and V. Déroche, 'Juifs et chrétiens dans l'Orient du VII^e siècle', *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991) 17-273 (17-46 Introduction historique, G. Dagron; 47-229 critical text, V. Déroche; 230-47 Commentaire I, G. Dagron; 248-73 Commentaire II, V. Déroche). Equally important is Dagron's article in the same volume, 'Judaïser', *ibid.*, 359-80.

3. V. Déroche, 'La polémique anti-judaïque au VI^e et au VII^e siècle, un memento inédit, les *Kephalaia*', *ibid.*, 275-311.; see also Kaegi, *op. cit.*, 220-27, 231-35 on dating the works. The appearance of H.G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, TU 139 (Berlin, 1992), with detailed discussion of the complex and interconnected manuscript tradition of some of these works, especially at 253-68, marks an important further stage in the discussion, though Thümmel's interest is confined to passages referring to religious images, and he stops with John of Damascus.

the basic bibliographical article by F. Winkelmann,⁴ nor has he used Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy. Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven 1992), of which chaps. 10-12 contain a sensitive treatment of many of the texts discussed by Olster, including the writings of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem. It is of course unfortunate for an author when he has an unreasonable wait before publication. But in chapter 1, in which Olster castigates the world of scholarship for an over-rigid separation of classical and Christian subject matter, some of his targets, which include Krumbacher and Harnack, seem very old hat: the pass has been sold some time ago.⁵ Nor, though Olster's schema for the book is to work through a series of individual texts in detail, does he scrutinise them from a literary point of view, or ask how they function *qua* texts; yet, I would argue, the very topics of Jews and Judaism are used as rhetorical tropes in a considerably more complex way than Olster allows. It is not just a question of whether we are to read the works historically or in a religious sense, but of the nature of representation in this period, whether literary or visual.

Yet while Olster's book, the second to have developed from his 1986 PhD thesis,⁶ is not a complete treatment either of the construction of the Jew in the Byzantine literature of this period or of the broader historical and literary issues centring on defeat and restoration, it does have the great merit of demonstrating that these are complex texts, demanding careful strategies of interpretation. I shall go on to take some of the main issues in turn, and will argue below that

4. F. Winkelmann, 'Die Quellen zur Erforschung des monoergetisch-monotheletischen Streites', *Klio* 69 (1987) 515-59.

5. See Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1991) chap. 1; also 'The eastern provinces in the seventh century AD: Hellenism and the emergence of Islam', in S. Said, ed., 'Ελληνισμός. *Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque*, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg 25-27 octobre 1989 (Leiden 1991) 287-313'; 'Byzantium in the seventh century: the search for redefinition', in J. Fontaine and J. Hillgarth, eds., *The Seventh Century* (London 1992) 250-76. Also relevant for Olster's argument is the thoughtful discussion by G. Stroumsa, 'Religious contacts in Byzantine Palestine', *Numen* 36 (1989) 16-42.

6. For the other see D. Olster, *The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century: Rhetoric and Revolution in Byzantium* (Amsterdam 1993); in it, Olster deals with the disturbances connected with the last year of Phocas, A.D. 609/10, in which Jews also feature prominently in the sources: see Dagron, 'Juifs et chrétiens', 18-22.

one of the main weaknesses of Olster's study is that it fails to make a link between the frequency of the theme of Jews in contemporary Byzantine literature and the rise to prominence of the whole question of religious images.

Jews in the early Byzantine empire

The first question must concern the actual place occupied by Jews in this period, which is far from easy to discern. Recent work by Nicholas de Lange has made clear the lack of good evidence from the period for real, as distinct from literary, Jews and Judaism; de Lange refers to the seventh century as 'the darkest age for Byzantine Jewry'.⁷ This is perhaps the place to mention the recent publication of collected papers by Andrew Sharf, *Jews and Other Minorities in Byzantium* (Jerusalem 1995), with a bibliography of his publications, and containing two relevant papers, 'Byzantine Jewry in the seventh century' and 'Jews in Byzantium'; these were however originally published in 1955 and 1966 respectively. M. Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634-1099* (Cambridge 1992), contains a short account of our period, as does J. Prawer, ed., *The History of Jerusalem. The Early Islamic Period (638-1099)* (Jerusalem 1987). I have attempted to gather the bibliography elsewhere,⁸ and in doing so appreciated the very useful article by S. Reif, 'Aspects of medieval Jewish literacy', in R. McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1990), 143-55. Reif points out, as does N. de Lange, that general histories of the Jewish people, of which there are a fair number, usually content themselves for this period with a rather brief (and often unoriginal) comment; little has been written in detail. The actual size of the Jewish population, whether in Palestine itself or in the empire generally, is therefore difficult to assess, and further distorted by the exaggerated claims made in the Christian sources. In Palestine itself, the evidence of the *Doctrina*

7. N. de Lange, 'Jews and Christians in the Byzantine Empire: problems and prospects', in D. Wood, ed., *Christianity and Judaism, Studies in Church History* 29 (Oxford 1992) 15-32, cf. p.23.

8. Averil Cameron, 'The Jews in Seventh-Century Palestine', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 13 (1994) 75-93; see 77, n. 7.

Jacobi and other texts suggests that there were communities in a number of major cities, including Tiberias (which remained a major centre of Jewish learning), Caesarea, Sykamina, Sepphoris, Lod (Lydda); their prosperity and degree of Hellenisation is attested in fine surviving synagogues, of which that at Gaza is particularly noteworthy.⁹ Jewish inscriptions, in Greek or, less commonly, using Hebrew, coexist with Christian and pagan ones; though some scholars would argue that the groups lived separately, this seems unlikely.¹⁰ There was a concentration of Jewish settlement in eastern Galilee, the region of Tiberias and the western Golan. Nevertheless, the overall Jewish population in Palestine remains hard to compute; against some very high estimates, Avi-Yonah put it at ten to fifteen per cent of the whole.¹¹

Much of the evidence in Greek sources for Jews and Jewish communities in the earlier part of the seventh century does in fact centre on Palestine and the eastern provinces. Unfortunately, a common feature in modern scholarship has been to take more or less at face value the tendentious accusations in Christian sources of Jewish complicity in the Persian invasion of the eastern provinces; Jewish armies are alleged to have taken part in some of the campaigns on the Persian side, for instance at Caesarea, Ptolemais and Tyre, and Jewish informers to have assisted the Persians in, for example, the

9. Discussion in Cameron, *art. cit.* 84-86; synagogues: Lee I. Levine, ed., *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia 1987); see Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 194-202. The Gaza synagogue had a fine mosaic of King David in the garb of Orpheus.

10. See Robert Gregg and Dan Urman, *Jews, Pagans and Christians in the Golan Heights* (forthcoming); for separation: C. Dauphin, 'Jewish and Christian communities in the Roman and Byzantine Gaulanitis: a study of evidence from archaeological surveys', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 114 (1982) 129-82, with Z. Ma'oz, 'Comments on Jewish and Christian communities in Byzantine Palestine', *ibid.* 117 (1985) 59-68. Further remarks on settlement and on the Jewish and Samaritan presence in Palestine, with bibliography, in John Haldon, 'The Ajnād and the "thematic myth"', in Averil Cameron, ed., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East III. States, Resources and Armies* (Princeton 1995) 379-423, at 410-11; a map showing synagogue locations is published in Y. Tsafir, L. Di Segni and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea. Palaestina: Maps and Gazetteer* (Jerusalem 1994), and for settlement in our period see 18-19.

11. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine* (Oxford 1976) 289; contrast G. Alon, *The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age (70-640 CE)* (Eng. trans. Jerusalem 1984) 36.

sack of Jerusalem. After the fall of the city in A.D. 614, the Persian army retreated, supposedly leaving the Jews in charge;¹² atrocities against Christians are the stock-in-trade of the Christian accounts, most, if not all, of which are characterised by lurid stories and replete with casually hostile and prejudiced allusions to Jewish complicity. S. Leder has drawn attention to the distortions in the sources in a useful article,¹³ and Olster shows how far the main Greek account of the sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 614 by Strategios, an author often wrongly, as in Olster, called Antiochus Monachus, is dominated by an ideology which sets Jews and Christians against each other.¹⁴ To the Christians, the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 614 was a blow which negated three hundred years of Christian rule since Constantine; to the Jews it represented a shortlived triumph, lasting only until the Persians changed their minds about Jewish rule.¹⁵ Modern Jewish historians, with good reason, have also wanted to emphasise this brief period of turning the tables, when it even appears that Jews were

12. Avi-Yonah, chap. XII is a fairly typical example of acceptance of this scenario; more critical is P. Schäfer, *Histoire des juifs dans l'antiquité* (French trans., Paris 1989) 219-23; Dagron, 'Judaïser', 370, allows for real activism.

13. S. Leder, 'The attitudes of the population, especially the Jews, towards the Arab-Islamic conquest of Bilad al-Sham and the question of their role therein', *Die Welt des Orients* 18 (1987) 64-71; critical account of the events: Dagron, *TM* 11 (1991) 22-26.

14. Olster, *Roman Defeat*, 79-84; however, Olster does not explain the complex transmission of the account of the capture of Jerusalem by Strategios, for which see B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1992) II 130-33; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 319, n. 28; 324-25, nn. 5-6. For Jews in Strategios's account, see Flusin II 162-64, 168. For the Persian episode see Flusin II 151-63, a new and important discussion, with Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, chaps. 10-11, emphasising the immense psychological and emotional impact of the loss of Jerusalem for Christians; Wilken is particularly good in his use of Sophronius's anacreontic laments for the fall of the city. Sophronius's anacreontic poems are edited by M. Gigante, *Sophronii Anacreontica*, Opuscula. Testi per esercitazioni accademiche 10/12 (Rome, 1957), but see H. Donner, *Die anakreontischen Gedichte Nr. 19 und Nr. 20 des Patriarchen Sophronius von Jerusalem*, Sitz. Heidelberger Akad. der Wiss. philosoph.-hist. Klasse 1981, 10 (Heidelberg 1981). Olster discusses the continuation of this demonising of Jews in the context of the Arab invasions at 84-92.

15. I have also discussed these events in 'The *Trophies of Damascus*: the Church, the Temple and sacred space', in *Les cahiers du CEPOA*, Actes du colloque de Cartigny 1988 (Leuven 1995) 203-12, with further bibliography; for their ideological importance see Flusin II 136-40.

once again allowed to offer worship on the site of the Temple; certainly Jewish hopes were raised beyond all previous expectation.¹⁶

The main problem for the historian in attempting to deal with the events of the Persian invasion is the difficulty and inadequacy of the contemporary sources, most of which have yet to receive critical study; a full and detailed discussion of the Persian invasion is still awaited, and much needed, but B. Flusin has provided a valuable account in his recent work on the dossier pertaining to the early seventh-century martyr known as S. Anastasius the Persian.¹⁷ It is clear that the heightened excitement which is apparent in the sources for the years before and after A.D. 614 had been mounting since the events surrounding the deposition of Phocas in A.D. 609/10, which are the subject of an earlier book by David Olster.¹⁸ An increasingly hostile Byzantine attitude towards Jews from the reign of Justinian on¹⁹ encouraged the labelling of Jews as trouble-makers and gave rise to the fear, if not always the reality, of their participation in civil

16. For Jewish apocalyptic and for the evidence of contemporary Hebrew liturgical poetry see Cameron, *art. cit.* (n. 12) 204 n. 4; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 207-15; Dagron, *TM* 11 (1991) 26-28, 41-43 (the most detailed and reliable discussion); F.E. Peters, *Jerusalem. The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginning of Modern Times* (Princeton 1985) 201 ff., with *id.*, *Jerusalem and Mecca. The Typology of a Holy City* (New York 1986) especially 80-122. On Jerusalem see also Cyril Mango 'The Temple Mount, AD 614-638', in J. Raby and J. Johns, eds. *Bayt al-Maqdis. 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem I*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art IX (Oxford 1992) 1-16, at 5-6.

17. Above, n. 14, at II 67-93, 265-92; Heraclius in Jerusalem: 293-319.

18. See n. 6 above; see also Dagron, *TM* 11 (1991) 18-22; brief account in Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton 1987) 187-91. The main source is the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu, also in need of critical study; the *Doctrina Jacobi* is also important on these events for its account of Jacob's youth as a participant in the urban rioting in various eastern cities during these years (I.40-41, on which see Dagron, *TM* 11 [1991] 235-37). The association of Jews with the Blue and Green circus factions, especially the Blues, that is mentioned in connection with these episodes has often been accepted by modern scholars in too strong a sense; seat inscriptions show them sitting together with Blues at Aphrodisias, Antioch and Tyre, but this need not imply a close or consistent political connection, see Charlotte Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London 1989) 222, following on from Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1976) 149-52. Jews sat together in groups, as did cult- or trade associations (Charlotte Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* [London 1993] 124, cf. 130, 154).

19. See A.M. Rabello, *Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani, alla luce delle fonti storico-letterarie, ecclesiastiche e giuridiche* (Milan 1987).

disturbances to which the *Doctrina Jacobi* amply attests. But here too some of the hostile narratives may be cases of retrojection from later periods when the hostility had become more general and more intense; thus Theophanes and Michael the Syrian blame the Jews for the murder of Anastasius II, patriarch of Antioch, in A.D. 609, whereas the contemporary *Chronicon Paschale* has him killed by soldiers.²⁰

An invasion of Palestine by a foreign power which might overthrow the Christian Byzantines and free Jerusalem for the Jews was a very different matter. Many of the strong feelings in the years before and after A.D. 614 focused round the highly emotive issue of possession of the Temple Mount; similar feelings were to be revived even more strongly after the surrender of Jerusalem to the Muslims by Sophronius in A.D. 638. It was fundamental to Christians that the Temple remained in ruins (Mark 13.2; Matth. 24.2, 15), for this was taken as proof of the triumph of Christianity over Judaism;²¹ conversely, Jews longed for its restoration. While the city of Jerusalem was also symbolic of God's dispensation, and Christians in A.D. 614 lamented its capture as Jews had done before them,²² the Temple was the greatest prize. Against all hopes and expectations, Heraclius in A.D. 630 restored to Jerusalem the True Cross taken into captivity by the Persians. If the Jews of Jerusalem had really regained the Temple Mount, they had soon lost it again. But soon afterwards a bitter blow was dealt to Christians and Jews alike when the Muslims began to build on and around it. This seems to have started at an early date, to judge from an allusion in Anastasius of Sinai and an anonymous

20. Theoph., *Chron.* 206 de Boor; Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* X.25; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610; see J.D. Frendo, 'Who killed Anastasius II?', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 72 (1982) 202-204, with note *ad loc.* in Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD* (Liverpool 1989) 150.

21. See further below.

22. The patriarch Zachariah accompanied the prisoners and the Cross into captivity after the city's capture, in which the Jews, Christianity's forerunners and symbolic enemies, were envisaged as assisting the Persians; see the vivid discussion by Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, chap. 11. Narrative also in R. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule. A Historical and Archaeological Study* (Princeton 1995).

Georgian text.²³ Thus the Temple Mount was the subject of intense ideological rivalry; Cyril Mango has argued recently that Heraclius had also aspired to build on the contested site, and that the construction at the Golden Gate is his work.²⁴

Byzantine legislation against Jews

This then is the context for the recording of an imperial edict issued by Heraclius, requiring the conversion of all Jews to Christianity, the first example of such legislation in Roman law; it was to be followed by similar laws passed by Leo III and Basil I.²⁵ As G. Dagron has argued, the ambition of achieving forced baptism of all Jews, however, unlikely *per se*, was the logical culmination of all the conversion stories in contemporary hagiography and other literature.²⁶ The law of Heraclius, passed over in silence by Theophanes, gave rise to the *Doctrina Jacobi*, which purports to be a work of encouragement by one such Jewish convert to Christianity to his former fellow-religionists; it is also the subject of a letter written by Maximus Confessor from North Africa in A.D. 632 and published by Devresse in 1937. Dagron has reviewed the evidence again recently and supported the authenticity of the letter and the historical reality

23. B. Flusin, 'Les premières constructions musulmanes sur l'Esplanade du Temple selon deux "récits édifiants" byzantins', *REG* 101 (1988) xxv-xxvi; *id.*, 'L'esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des Arabes, d'après deux récits byzantins', in Raby and Johns, eds., *Bayt al-Maqdis* (n. 16) 17-31.

24. Mango, 'The Temple Mount' (n. 16); for an Umayyad date, M. Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Haram al-Sharif*, Qedem 28 (Jerusalem 1989) 39, see Cameron, 'The Jews in seventh-century Palestine', 80 n. 20.

25. *Chron.*, p.401 de Boor; see on this P. Yannopoulos, *La société profane dans l'empire byzantin des VII^e, VIII^e, et IX^e siècles* (Louvain 1975) 247-51, and for the later repetitions de Lange, 'Jews and Christians in the Byzantine empire' (n. 7) 23; G. Dagron has published a ninth-century treatise on the subject of baptism of Jews which seems to relate to the episode under Basil I: G. Dagron, 'Le traité de Grégoire de Nicée sur le baptême des Juifs', *TM* 11 (1991) 313-57, and see the comments on this legislation at 347-53. There is also a valuable brief discussion of Heraclius's measure in its historical and ideological context by G. Dagron in G. Dagron, P. Riché and A. Vauchez, eds., *Histoire du Christianisme IV. Évêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)* (Paris 1993) 70-79.

26. Dagron, 'Judaïser', 363; for conversion stories, see below.

of the law demanding baptism;²⁷ he argues for the date of A.D. 632 on the basis of Maximus's letter against A.D. 634, Michael the Syrian's date for the edict.²⁸ But while the law is presented as empire-wide in significance, the only clear evidence of its implementation comes from Maximus in North Africa; the immediate context in the narratives of both Theophanes and Michael the Syrian is fanciful and tendentious, and the former's omission of the edict itself is surprising. It is hard to imagine that much could have been done to enforce the law, given the imminent Arab invasions, and even if genuine enough, its import may have been more symbolic than practical; if writers and hagiographers resorted to fantasies of the conversion of individuals, it was to be expected that an emperor might try to achieve the same effect through legislation. Dreams of conversion and imperial legislation are alike expressions of ideological and psychological attitudes which found it more and more necessary to draw boundaries between Christianity and Judaism.

The anti-Jewish dialogues and polemical works against Jews

These extraordinary reversals cannot but have influenced the output of anti-Jewish dialogues and other writings by Christians during this ensuing period, and indeed the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and the destruction of the Temple are among the major themes of such works. Their purpose is both polemical and apologetic: Judaism must be shown to have been superseded by Christianity in both religious and historical terms. Thus it was still argued, even after the establishment of the Umayyad caliphate, that Christian rule spread to the ends of the earth, even as far west as Britain, and that the world enjoyed the peace of the church promised by Isaiah after the coming of the Messiah; in contrast, the Jews had been dispersed and without a

27. Dagron, *TM* 11 (1991) 30-31; see R. Devreesse, 'La fin inédite d'une lettre de S. Maxime: un baptême forcé de Juifs et Samaritains à Carthage en 632', *Rev. des sciences religieuses* 17 (1937) 25-35; further discussion in C. Laga, 'Judaism and Jews in Maximus Confessor's works. Theoretical controversy and practical attitude', *Byzantinoslavica* 51 (1990) 177-88 (cf. 188 'a brutal and at any rate inefficient act of repression').

28. *Chron.* XI.4, Dagron, 32; cf. Olster, *Roman Defeat*, 84-85 with useful discussion of other more dubious sources, which he describes as 'contradictory and confusing'.

Temple for six hundred years.²⁹ It was more important for Christian writers to reiterate the theme of Jewish defeat after the abortive Jewish revival under the Persians than it was to engage with real conditions in the Near East. It has been argued that the anti-Jewish dialogues represent a hidden attack on Muslims,³⁰ but consciousness of Islam as a religion with claims to be rebutted seems to take root only towards the end of the seventh century, and for good reason, for it was then that the public display of Islam combined with measures against Christianity and the conversion of Christians to bring Christian anxieties to the fore.³¹ The extraordinary concentration in seventh-century Greek literature from the eastern provinces on Jews and Judaism (further below), speaks of a more direct aim, and while much of the content of the dialogues themselves is taken over from the traditions of the genre,³² it is hard not to see a more immediate

29. *Trophies of Damascus*, ed. G. Bardy, PO 15 (Paris, 1920), 221; on the themes and their ancestry, see Cameron, 'The *Trophies of Damascus*' (n. 15), 207-208; for the *Trophies* see also M. Waegemann, 'Les traités *adversus Iudaeos*: aspects des relations judéo-chrétiens dans le monde grec', *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 195-313. For some themes, see R. Wilken, 'The restoration of Israel in Biblical prophecy: Jewish and Christian responses in the early Byzantine period', in J. Neusner and E. Frerichs, eds., 'To see ourselves as others see us': *Christians, Jews and "Others" in Late Antiquity* (Chicago 1985) 443-71.

30. So, e.g. Olster, *Roman Defeat*, 123.

31. See G.R.D. King, 'Islam, iconoclasm and the declaration of doctrine', *BSOAS* 48 (1985) 267-77; S.H. Griffith, 'Images, Islam and Christian icons. A moment in the Christian/Muslim encounter in early Islamic times', in P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, eds., *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam*, Actes du colloque international (Damascus 1992) 121-38; G.J. Reinink, 'The beginnings of Syriac apologetic literature in Greek', *Oriens Christianus* 77 (1993) 165-87 (plausibly redating to this period the Syriac dialogue between the patriarch John and an emir usually assigned the early date of AD 644: see e.g. M. Cook, 'The origins of *kalām*', *BSOAS* 43 (1981) 171f.; Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism. The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge 1977) 162 n. 11). The Syriac *Apocalypse* of Ps. Methodius, quickly translated into Greek, also seems to belong to this period: G.J. Reinink, 'Ps-Methodius: a concept of history in response to the rise of Islam', in Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I. Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Princeton 1992) 149-87. Apocalyptic and messianism, characteristic of the period beginning with the reign of Heraclius and coinciding with the rise to prominence of religious images, brought with them a heightened ideological awareness of the theme of conversion of the Jews: see Paul Magdalino, 'The history of the future and its uses: prophecy, policy and propaganda', in Roderick Beaton and Charlotte Roueché, eds., *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* (Aldershot 1993) 3-34, at 18-21.

32. Examples of which are listed in H. Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Iudaeos Texte und ihr literarische Umfeld I-II* (Frankfurt a.M./Bern 1982, 1988); for our period, see especially Déroche, 'La polémique anti-judaïque' (n. 3).

contemporary application in this period.³³

The appearance of a new critical edition of the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* by V. Déroche³⁴ is an important addition to the scholarly literature, placing linguistic and other comparisons between this and the other texts on a much more secure footing. In comparison, while a reasonable edition of the *Trophies of Damascus* was provided by G. Bardy in 1920,³⁵ the *Dialogue of Pappiscus and Philo with a Monk* depends on an unsatisfactory and inaccessible text³⁶ and the Ps. Athanasian *Quaestiones ad Antiochum* lack a critical edition, and their date is still a matter of disagreement.³⁷ Dating these works is indeed often difficult: the problems are compounded by the probable circulation of different and partial versions, and by subsequent revision and alteration.³⁸ Somewhat misleadingly, Olster terms them the

33. Jews more the aim than Muslims, even in eighth-century texts: see Reinink, 'The beginnings of Syriac apologetic', 169-70.

34. See n. 2 above.

35. See no. 29 above.

36. A.C. McGiffert, ed., *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew* (Marbourg 1889); further bibliography cited by Déroche, *art. cit.* 279. Deficiencies of McGiffert's edition: Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 256-57.

37. Nos. 42 and 137 in the collection are relevant; see PG 28, 621-24, 684-700, 709; discussion of the collection in John Haldon, 'The works of Anastasius of Sinai: a key source for the history of seventh-century East Mediterranean society and belief', in Cameron and Conrad, eds., *The Early Byzantine and Islamic Near East I*, 107-47, at 120-25; see also F.J. Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apologetic in the Early Muslim Period* (PhD. diss., Catholic U. of America 1985) 529-30. On the date of the Ps.-Athanasian *Quaestiones* (before Anastasius of Sinai, *Quaestiones*), see Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 246-52, and on the relationship between the *Trophies*, the *Dialogue of Pappiscus and Philo* and the *Dialexis* of Anastasius of Sinai (PG 89, 1203-72) *ibid.*, 253-68.

38. Thümmel, *loc. cit.*; see also Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, App. I, 231-25, on the date of the *Dialexis* ascribed to Anastasius of Sinai, with general discussion at 220-27. Olster, *Roman Defeat*, 131-33 puts the *Dialogue of Pappiscus and Philo* first, then the *Trophies of Damascus*, and last the *Quaestiones*, but the *Dialogue of Pappiscus and Philo* in particular seems to have gone through a number of stages of redaction; Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 268, with discussion of manuscripts and textual borrowings, sees the *Dialexis* of Anastasius of Sinai (third quarter, seventh century) as preceding the *Dialogue*, the *Trophies* and the *Quaestiones* of Ps. Athanasius. The *Disputation* of S. Gregentius, bishop of the Himyarites, with Herbanus the Jew, PG 86, 621-784, is dated by Déroche, *art. cit.*, 276-77, with full bibliography, to the late sixth or early seventh century, by Olster, *Roman Defeat*, chap. 7, to the mid-seventh century; Olster places its composition in Jerusalem. For other dialogues with a 'foreign' dramatic setting see Olster, *ibid.*, 155 n. 2.

'Syrian dialogues',³⁹ but while they may all originate in a very general sense from the eastern provinces, if not certainly from Syria itself, their language is Greek, with the exception of the Syriac *Dialogue of Sergius the Stylite with a Jew*, apparently of the early eighth century.⁴⁰ They belong, moreover, in a broader context of anti-Jewish works. Olster does not discuss the fragmentary *Apology against the Jews* of Leontius of Neapolis in Cyprus, known indirectly through the Acts of II Nicaea and the treatises on images of John of Damascus, where it is cited. This work, by a writer of hagiography,⁴¹ is one of the earliest to connect the defence of religious images with arguments against supposed Jewish allegations of idolatry, a theme which was taken up in later discussion, notably by John of Damascus and in the Acts of II Nicaea, but also, for example, in the *Dialogue of Papiscus and Philo*;⁴² Leontius's treatise contained an Old Testament *florilegium* of citations for use in argument against Jews. A treatise against the Jews by Anastasius of Sinai is mentioned

39. *Roman Defeat*, chap. 6.

40. Ed. P.A. Hayman, *CSCO* 338-39 (Louvain 1973); see also P. Hayman, 'The image of the Jew in the Syriac anti-Jewish literature', in Neusner and Frerichs, eds., *To see ourselves as others see us* (n. 29) 423-41. Olster's identification of the authors of the dialogues as 'Syrian Melkites' (*ibid.*, 138) is very misleading: not only does it ascribe to them the unsatisfactory label 'Syrian', but it ignores the much broader context of this literature, with examples from, e.g. Cyprus, and elsewhere.

41. For Leontius's *Life* of John the Almsgiver and his *Life* of S. Spyridon, see C. Mango, 'Leontius of Neapolis: a Byzantine hagiographer at work', in I. Hutter, ed., *Byzanz und der Westen* (Vienna 1985) 25-41; Averil Cameron, 'Cyprus at the time of the Arab conquests', *Journal of the Cyprus Historical Society* 1 (1992) 27-50, at 34-35, 39-40. D. Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool. Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1996) discusses Leontius and his literary work in chap. 1, and see now the detailed treatment in V. Déroche, *Etudes sur Léontios de Néapolis* (Uppsala 1996).

42. For the authenticity and date, see V. Déroche, 'L'authenticité de l' "Apologie contre les Juifs" de Léontios de Néapolis', *BCH* 110 (1986) 655-69, with *id.*, 'La polémique anti-judaïque', 278, against P. Speck, 'Zu dem Dialog mit einem Juden des Leontios von Neapolis', *Poikila Byzantina* 4, *Varia* 1 (1984) 242-49; *ibid.* 6, *Varia* 2 (1987) 315-22, who sees in it the hand of a later iconophile writer. Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 340-64, prints the passages in these texts relevant to images, from Leontius of Neapolis to Stephen of Bostra; for the relation of other texts to the fragment by Leontius of Neapolis, see the discussion at 246-52. The issue of images in the anti-Jewish literature was already discussed by Norman Baynes, 'The icons before Iconoclasm', *Harvard Theological Review* 44 (1951) 93-106 (repr. in his *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, London 1955) no. XV.

in his *Hexaemeron*,⁴³ and fragments survive of a seventh or eighth-century *Dialogue on the Trinity* between a Jew and a Christian by Jerome of Jerusalem,⁴⁴ as of a similar work by Stephen of Bostra cited by John of Damascus, also with an Old Testament *florilegium*.⁴⁵ In his *De fide orthodoxa*, John of Damascus himself addressed the question of the Jewish Sabbath, and hoped for the conversion of the Jews.⁴⁶ A number of other works against the Jews are listed in vol. III of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, some of uncertain date;⁴⁷ the genre is included by J. Munitiz in his valuable list of Byzantine catechetical 'teaching-aids', with the comment that this is 'an exceptionally broad category that remains to be explored'.⁴⁸ Typical of the penumbra that surrounds the core of (to us) known texts is the appearance of a story in John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, referring to the author's 'debating with Hebrews', urged by a certain Cosmas of Alexandria, who had a large library which John consulted: 'I visited him every day, and I never entered without finding him either reading or writing against the Jews: for he devoted great zeal to bringing Jews to the truth'.⁴⁹ Another debate between Christians and Jews is mentioned in Anastasius of Sinai's *Hodegos*, a treatise largely devoted to refuting Monophysites.⁵⁰ Whether or not the story in John Moschus is to be taken at face value, it illustrates very well the fact that anti-Jewish debate in this period depended on

43. PG 89, 933; the *Hexaemeron* itself defends the doctrine of the Trinity against Jews, barbarians and Samaritans, with most emphasis on the Jews.

44. PG 40, 847-60, 865; 94, 1409; see B. Kotter, *Johannes von Damaskos* III (1975), 194; Schreckenberg, 468. Mention of images (94, 1409) points to later in our period.

45. PG 94, 1376 B-D; for the date (seventh to early eighth-century) see Déroche, 'L'authenticité', 663 n. 45; M. Sartre, *Bostra. Des origines à l'Islam* (Paris 1985) 116-17.

46. See Schreckenberg, 473; for the 'Answers to the Jews' preserved in Armenian see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich 1959) 479, with 486.

47. M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* III (Louvain 1974), nos. 7798-7802; cf. the reference by Déroche, 'L'authenticité', 660 n. 34, to 'textes inédits ou quasi-inaccessibles'.

48. J. Munitiz, 'Catechetical teaching-aids in Byzantium', in J. Chrysostomides, ed., *Kathegetria. Essays presented to Joan Hussey* (Camberley, 1988), 69-83, at 78.

49. PG 87.3, 3040-41; see Déroche, 'La polémique anti-judaïque', 285, who takes Cosmas to be producing texts (perhaps *florilegia*) for others to use in their own arguments (translation from de Lange, 'Jews and Christians in the Byzantine Empire', 26).

50. *Hodegos* XIV.1, ed. K.-H. Uthemann (Turnhout 1981) 257-58, and see the discussion in Déroche, 'La polémique anti-judaïque', 284-86.

serious research and the collection of armouries of proof texts. The same conclusion follows from the *Kephalaia epaporetika* published by Déroche, a collection of questions for Christians to use in arguments with Jews, which reveals the energy with which such materials were now being produced.⁵¹ The argument is constructed in syllogisms designed to show the falsity or the absurdity of Jewish claims, and while a substantial part is derived from traditional Christian arguments on the subject, the collection does not content itself with arguing for the truth of Christianity, but takes the offensive and seeks to demolish Jewish claims on their own ground.

Do these texts represent real debates?⁵² While V. Déroche, followed by G. Dagron, envisage Jewish initiatives in this regard,⁵³ the evidence is one-sided; in any case, there is no single answer, just as there is no single type for the texts themselves. The *Kephalaia* and the *Quaestiones* of Ps. Athanasius fall into the category of hand-books, and some of the polemical works are essentially scholastic treatises. Even among the disputations and dialogues themselves there is great variation in structure, dramatic setting and fictionality, with the *Trophies of Damascus* high on the scale as far as the last two are concerned. It would be a mistake to conclude that religious debates never occurred, and indeed there is plenty of evidence to show that they did; contemporaries were also well attuned to public debating on such issues by experience of frequent synods and councils, and by formal confrontations summoned in particular circumstances.⁵⁴ But there is little or no direct evidence of real public debates between Christians and Jews, and the rhetorical and scholastic nature of much of the argumentation in the surviving texts suggests that they are more

51. Greek text and French translation in Déroche, 'La polémique anti-judaïque', 299-307, with commentary at 308-11; the editor supposes a seventh-century date.

52. See Cameron, 'The eastern provinces', 306-307; Dagron, *TM* 11 (1991) 370, and for the Christian-Muslim texts, Reinink, 'The beginnings of Syriac apologetic literature', 169; see also B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430-1096* (Paris, The Hague 1960).

53. Déroche, 'La polémique anti-judaïque', 284 f.; Dagron, 'Judaïser', 370.

54. See Averil Cameron, 'Disputations, polemical literature and the formation of opinion in early Byzantine literature', in G.J. Reinink and H.J.L. Vanstiphout, eds., *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Medieval Near East*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 42 (Leuven 1991) 91-108, at 102-104.

expressive of what Nicholas de Lange has called 'an official theology of Judaism'⁵⁵ than of religious argument as actually practised. However, the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* must be regarded as an exception, not, perhaps, in that it records a real debate, but in the amount of plausible circumstantial detail which it includes.⁵⁶ The general air of unreality which hangs over the Christian texts, with this exception, also helps to explain what is otherwise puzzling, namely the relative absence of Jewish response. The question is addressed by de Lange, who rightly points out that evidence of Jewish attitudes is better sought in other literary genres, for example liturgical poetry or *midrashim*;⁵⁷ disputations with Christians written by Jews are hard to find because Jews lacked the theological imperative in this period to prove Christians wrong which Christians had towards them, and in any case were in no position to engage them in public debate so as to do so.⁵⁸

While it may well be the case therefore that the special circumstances of the early seventh century gave a new urgency to the familiar arguments of Christians against Judaism, the basic genre was also a traditional one, which functioned in this period as a way of teaching orthodox Christians the essentials of their faith, and providing them with arguments with which to counter possible critics; as such it stands alongside the outpouring of treatises in this period by writers such as Anastasius of Sinai and John of Damascus against other heretical or mistaken groups, including Monophysites, Manichaeans, and, in time, Muslims.⁵⁹ Seen in this light, it becomes easier to

55. 'Jews and Christians in the Byzantine empire', 26-27.

56. See Cameron, 'The Jews in seventh-century Palestine', 83-84.

57. De Lange, 'Jews and Christians in the Byzantine empire', 27-29; one could add Jewish apocalyptic. See also E.I.J. Rosenthal, 'Anti-Christian polemics in medieval Bible commentaries', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 11 (1960) 115-35.

58. See also Cameron, 'The Jews in seventh-century Palestine', 90; it is argued by Déroche, 'La polémique anti-judaïque', 296, and Dagron, 'Judaïsme', 365-66, that open polemic by Jews against Christians was a fundamental feature of seventh-century life, though Déroche, *loc. cit.*, has to find an explanation for the lack of surviving examples.

59. See Averil Cameron, 'Texts as weapons: polemic in the Byzantine dark ages', in Alan Bowman and Greg Wolf, eds., *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (Cambridge 1994) 198-215, and review of R. Le Coz, ed., *Jean Damascène. Écrits sur l'Islam*, Sources chrétiennes 383 (Paris 1991) in *JThS* n.s. 46 (1995) 368-72. The development and rhetorical techniques of heresiology in this period deserve a full study.

understand why Judaism and indeed Islam, which from our perspective are not Christian heresies but separate religions, should themselves feature in these lists. An interesting variation is to be found in the *Doctrina Jacobi*, where the newly converted Jacob attempts to explain the doctrine of the Trinity without falling into heresy, for the slightest deviation from which, it is stated, even bishops and patriarchs have been excommunicated.⁶⁰ Some at least of this didactic literature was highly technical, with authors vying with each other to produce new proof texts,⁶¹ while some fulfilled a more practical need for instruction in times of dislocation and disturbance.⁶² The writings against Jews may be as much academic exercises or works of practical catechesis as expressions of contemporary ideology. In this general context, the interpretation of the *Doctrina Jacobi* presents a special case. It purports to be addressed to other Jews rather than to Christians, and to be encouraging them to convert as Jacob had done; in contrast the tone of the *Trophies of Damascus* is sharply triumphalist, and that dialogue ends with a scathing portrayal of learned Jews discomfited in the argument.⁶³ The *Doctrina Jacobi* also has more circumstantial detail than most of the treatises, some of which make few claims to verisimilitude.

References to Jews and Judaism in other types of literature

The extent to which this specialised literature also belonged within a general context of hostile references to Jews and Judaism is less often remarked. Given the mounting suspicion on the Christian side, which found expression in Heraclius's law of AD 632, it followed that 'judaïser' would become the worst, and at the same time the most common, form of accusation to be levelled at one's enemies.⁶⁴ The

60. *Doctrina* II.5.

61. Notable here are P. Van den Ven, 'La patristique et l'hagiographie au concile de Nicée de 787', *Byzantion* 25-27 (1957) 325-62; Cameron, 'Texts as weapons', 203-206 and C. Mango, 'The availability of books in the Byzantine Empire, AD 750-850', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, D.C. 1975) 29-45.

62. Cameron, *ibid.*, 207-208; see Haldon, 'The works of Anastasius of Sinai'.

63. See Cameron, 'The *Trophies of Damascus*', 207-208; these slink away in dudgeon, but some conversion is also envisaged. See Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 268 on the idiosyncrasy of this text.

64. See Dagron, 'Judaïser', 364.

Byzantines in our period were both fascinated by Jews and Judaism and fearful of them. Not only literary texts but also the contemporary church canons show a constant preoccupation with the subject,⁶⁵ and it is at once apparent from even the most cursory reading of the relevant part of such works as the *Chronicles* of Theophanes or Michael the Syrian (ultimately dependent on contemporary sources), or the *Annals* of the patriarch Eutychius,⁶⁶ all three of which are main sources for the period. There are no doubt many reasons for this bias, including a long previous history in the rhetorical practice of homiletic;⁶⁷ it is revived with particular force in the eighth-century homilies by writers such as Andrew of Crete.⁶⁸ Another manifestation of the same tendency is the common story of a supposed Jewish informer or evil genius, who is blamed for present ills. Thus Theophanes attributes the iconoclastic decree of Yazid II to the influence of a 'Jewish wizard';⁶⁹ a variant appears in the *Suda* entry on Jesus, which consists largely of a story about a Jew called Theodosius who had secret information about the existence of a Jewish document of the time of Christ which recorded that Jesus was the Son of God and born from the Virgin Mary.⁷⁰ Conversely, the conversion or symbolic defeat of Jews is a common theme in hagiography, not least in the *Life* of Symeon the Fool by the same Leontius of

65. *Ibid.*, 365-66.

66. Ed. and trans. M. Breydy, *Das Annalen werk des Eutychios von Alexandrien*, CSCO 471-72, Script. arab. 50-51 (Leuven 1985); cf. *id.*, *Études sur Sa'îd ibn Batriq et ses sources*, CSCO Subsidia 69 (Leuven 1983).

67. Recognisable for example in the well-known Christmas homily of Sophronius of AD 634 (ed. H. Usener, *Rh. Mus.* n.f. 41 [1886] 500-16, e.g. at 514). For a sixth-century example cf. P. Allen and C. Datema, eds. *Leontii presbyteri Constantinopolitani: Homiliae*, CCSG 17 (Leuven 1987) 54; the theme has a long history (see especially R. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews. Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century* [Berkeley and Los Angeles 1983]).

68. Cf. his homily on Lazarus, *PG* 97, especially 964, 976-77.

69. *Chron.*, pp.401-402 de Boor.

70. See de Lange, 'Jews and Christians', 19. The messiahship of Jesus and the genealogy of the Virgin Mary were two of the key components in Christian-Jewish debate: question 137 in the *Quaestiones* of Ps. Athanasius asks how Jews can be persuaded to recognise Jesus as the Messiah, and the genealogy of Mary is the subject, for example, of a letter by Jacob of Edessa to the stylite John of Litarb (d.737), for which see Reinink, 'The beginnings of Syriac apologetic', 168-70. The 'Jew from Tiberias' and the story of the genealogy of Mary also appear in the *Doctrina Jacobi*.

Neapolis who is the author of the *Apology against the Jews*.⁷¹ Other types of literature circulating in our period include the apocryphal *Discussion of St. Sylvester*, a fictional dispute between the bishop of Rome and twelve Jews in the presence of Constantine and his mother Helena, which was known to the author of the Syriac *Dialogue of Sergius the Stylite*, which also drew on older Syriac anti-Jewish works by Aphrahat and Ephrem.⁷²

There were other reasons why there may have been a heightened awareness of Judaism in the seventh century. One was that this period also saw a significant development in the cult of the Cross, particularly after the capture and restoration of the True Cross to Jerusalem in AD 614 and 630 respectively.⁷³ Homilies and other works celebrating the Cross tended to contain passages disparaging the Jews. Another reason is that, as I have already argued, one turn taken by theological debate during the seventh century was to return to a more literal and physical interpretation of the Incarnation, which had the effect of stimulating debate about the status of created matter; in this context, Christians were highly sensitive to possible Jewish allegations that they worshipped created objects, whether the Cross, images or Christ Himself, and were thus idolaters.⁷⁴ Those whose works addressed these issues included Anastasius of Sinai,⁷⁵ and the three *Orations in Defence of Images* by John of Damascus (citing Leontius of Neapolis) contain the most fully developed defence against such charges.⁷⁶ Whether, as has been argued recently by Sidney Griffith,

71. On the *Life*, dating from the 640s, see Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, with translation at 131-71. For Jews see *ibid.*, 12-13, 43, 122 (on the stories of a Jewish glassblower and another Jewish artisan brought to baptism by Symeon). For the theme of conversion see also Dagron, 'Judäiser', 369, 372-76, who is however inclined to place more weight on some of the stories than I might do myself.

72. See Hayman (n. 40), *CSCO* 339, 25 f., 15. A Syriac translation of a Greek collection of testimonies (proof texts) against Jews has been suggested as another source, though one should bear in mind the multiplicity and variety of the collections apparently in circulation.

73. The restoration of the Cross to Jerusalem in 630: Flusin, *Saint Anastase II* 293-319; the Cross and Jews: *ibid.*, 317. Cross and images: Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 246-47; icons in anti-Jewish texts: *ibid.*, 340-64.

74. Averil Cameron, 'The language of images: the rise of icons and Christian representation', in D. Wood, ed., *The Church and the Arts*, Studies in Church History 28 (Oxford 1992) 1-42.

75. See Anna Kartsonis, *Anastasis* (Princeton 1986) 40-63.

76. See also Cameron, 'The Jews in seventh-century Palestine', 88-89.

John's concerns were with local, that is Muslim, iconoclastic tendencies,⁷⁷ or with measures taken in Constantinople, as still seems to me likely, the connection of iconoclastic with Jewish lines of thought was a natural one for him to make in this context. The first stage of concern about religious images focused firmly on this issue of idolatry, and the opponents of images were quickly associated by their rivals with the Jewish position on this subject. The appearance of the theme of religious images in Christian anti-Jewish dialogues from Leontius of Neapolis onwards, as being among the Christian objects of veneration or worship to which Jews allegedly took exception, is one of the striking features in the texts, and one which links Christian-Jewish polemic firmly with the iconoclastic debates of the eighth century. Here the *Dialogue of Papiscus and Philo* deserves comment, despite the incoherent form in which it has come down to us, and the unsatisfactory edition in which it must be read, since it shows a hardening of attitudes against Jews, combined with explicit reference to the debate about images; the repertoire of Old Testament 'signs' familiar from John of Damascus is juxtaposed with accusations against the Jews, their responsibility for the crucifixion and their punishment in the destruction of the Temple. 'Where are the tablets, the ark of the covenant, the tabernacle, the rod of Aaron, the burning bush, manna, the pillar of fire?', it asks; all are gone, and the Jews defeated.⁷⁸ It is hardly surprising, then, when the argument in John of Damascus's *Orations* in defence of images lapses easily into condemnation of the Jews, as does the treatise on the

77. Paper delivered to the Fourth Workshop of the Late Antiquity and Early Islam Project, London, 1994. The attempt by D. Sahas, 'The Arab character of the disputation with Islam. The case of John of Damascus (ca. 655-ca. 749)', in *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien (Berlin 1993) 185-205, to present John as an 'enlightened Arab' is not convincing; more critical, if not actually over-sceptical, is M.-F. Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIII^e-IX^e siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène', *TM* 12 (1994) 183-218.

78. McGiffert, 59 f., 68; in the later recension, where this hardening of attitudes is to be seen, the Old Testament signs are not adduced as elsewhere to point to the coming of Christ, but rather to demonstrate the victory of Christianity over Judaism. That the Old Testament was problematic for Christians is clearly shown by their continuing concern, even in this late period, to demonstrate that it could indeed be put to their own uses; see Dagron, 'Judaïser', 377-80.

subject by John's disciple Theodore Abu Qurrah;⁷⁹ both these works draw on earlier examples of anti-Jewish literature, and the latter explicitly cites Ps. Athanasius. It is in the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea in AD 787 that the identification of Iconoclasts and Jews reaches its height: the Iconoclasts are described as 'godless Jews and enemies of the truth', and Jews are routinely blamed for their supposed part in attacks on images.⁸⁰ Surely this, more than any other factor, is what accounts for the rabidly anti-Jewish tone of later writers about the period, from Theophanes to Eutychius, who themselves belong to the victorious iconophile tradition.

The appearance of caricatured portrayals of Jews in the ninth-century illustrated psalters takes this development a stage further, and has been well documented in a major study by Kathleen Corrigan.⁸¹ Corrigan traces the influence of the anti-Jewish texts on the ideological message of the psalter illustrations, but sees it as a problem that the themes in visual art seem to make so late an appearance. She explains this by suggesting that the ninth-century, post-Iconoclastic psalters are extending the argument to the real contemporary enemies of Orthodoxy, namely Iconoclasts and Muslims.⁸² The present survey shows, I hope, that anti-Jewish argumentation persisted in its own right, and that while there was indeed an equation made between Jews and Iconoclasts, there is no need to regard all anti-Jewish writing as covert polemic against Muslims; indeed, it has never been explained by the proponents of this view why such polemic needed to be covert. The illustrations in the psalters are indeed ideologically inspired, but their target is Iconoclasm, and that is more than enough to explain the presence

79. Ed. I Dick, *Théodore Abuqurra, Traité du culte des icônes* (Jounieh and Paris 1986); see S.H. Griffith, 'Theodore Abu Qurrah's Arabic tract on the Christian practice of venerating images', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985) 53-73.

80. E.g. Mansi XIII. 41; 24-32; Jews are linked with 'Hagarenes and other infidels' in their objections to images and the Cross: 357D. See further Dagron, 'Judaïser', 367 for Iconoclasts as Judaizers.

81. K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge 1992), especially chaps. 2-3. This book has already been interestingly discussed in this journal by L. Brubaker, 'Life imitates art: writings on Byzantine art history, 1991-92', *BMGS* 17 (1993) 173-223, at 180-86.

82. See Brubaker, *art. cit.*, 182-83.

of Jewish stereotypes; a helpful article by Herbert Kessler underlines this point.⁸³ Also in our period, and surely not by accident, the use of the visual theme of the crucifixion emphasised the fact of Christ's suffering in the flesh, while reminding Christians of the role played by the Jews, and the appearance of the Jewish Tabernacle in contemporary visual art illustrated the fact of its supersession.⁸⁴ Visual art, no less than texts, expressed the ideology of Christianity's victory over Judaism.

Jews and Muslims

If the Christian anti-Jewish literature is not to be regarded as a front for a confrontation with Islam, what is its place in the context of the development of the latter as a new religion during the course of the seventh century? And what was the place of the Jews themselves in this development? The latter question was given an answer in the controversial book, *Hagarism*, by Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, with similar views expressed in an article by Crone published shortly afterwards:⁸⁵ to quote from the latter, 'Islam is Judaism restated as an Arab faith'.⁸⁶ This extreme position has not found general acceptance, although many, if not all, western scholars now recognise the fragility of much of the Arabic source tradition for early Islamic history which is the main platform of Crone and Cook's thesis. Crone's article, perhaps paradoxically, suffers to my mind from a willingness to take non-Muslim sources at face value, in particular the Christian picture of Judaism; this is of course as dangerous as the method that she attacks. Other recent books which also lay stress on Judaism in the context of the rise of Islam are Garth Fowden's

83. H. Kessler, "'Pictures fertile with truth': how Christians managed to make images of God without violating the Second Commandment", *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49/50 (1991/2) 53-65, also discussed by Brubaker, *art. cit.*, 187.

84. See H. Kessler, 'Through the Temple veil: the holy image in Judaism and Christianity', *Kairos* 32/33 (1993) 53-77; for Jews in Byzantine art see also E. Revel-Neher, *The Image of the Jew in Byzantine Art* (Oxford 1992).

85. Above, n. 31; cf. Patricia Crone, 'Islam, Judaeo-Christianity and Byzantine Iconoclasm', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980) 59-95.

86. *Art. cit.*, 63.

Empire to Commonwealth and Fergus Millar's, *The Roman Near East*.⁸⁷ The context of this debate, which is still very much in its early stages, is the interest now being shown by historians in such questions as cultural identity and ethnicity, against traditional emphases on military explanations, combined with a more critical and nuanced understanding of the written sources.

This is not the place to take the issue further. The important contribution of Judaism, and indeed Christianity (the religions of 'peoples of the book'), to Islam is evident to anyone who consults the Qur'ān.⁸⁸ More should be said however about the Christian anti-Jewish literature of the period and its dual relation both to the development of Christian-Muslim apologetic and to the emergence of Muslim *kalām*. In the first place, there is a considerable overlap in the themes considered in Christian works dealing with Jewish and Muslim concepts. Anastasios of Sinai's *Hodegos* includes Arabs with Jews and 'Greeks', i.e. pagans, as unbelievers, and refers to their sacred books.⁸⁹ The status of the signs by which the divine will is revealed, the identification of the Messiah, the status of prophecy are all common to the Christian-Jewish and Christian-Muslim works alike. In the Syriac *Disputation of Sergius the Stylite with a Jew*, Jesus is claimed as the new prophet greater than Moses. The Christian cites Jn. 5:43 on false prophets and comments 'Here He indicated the false and deceiving Messiah whom you (sc. the Jews) in your error are expecting' (ch. 22.18). The issue is not merely about true versus false

87. G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth. Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993); Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC-AD 337* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); while the latter deals with an earlier period, it lays heavy emphasis on Judaism as a carrier of cultural identity in the Near East (and strenuously denies a 'Syrian' or 'Arab' identity), and Millar's arguments, especially in the Epilogue, have considerable implications for the events of the seventh century, emphasising in particular the profound influence of external, Jewish-Christian, conceptions on the development of Arab identity. See also in this connection G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1990). Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, poses the 'problem' of Arab success in terms of military strategy, and regards Jews as probable allies of the Muslims against a hostile Byzantine state (see e.g. 116-17).

88. For the attitudes expressed towards Christians and Jews in the Qur'ān see A.-T. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam. Textes et auteurs (VIII^e-XIII^e s.)* (Louvain-Paris 1969) 15-30.

89. S. H. Griffith, 'Anastasios of Sinai, the *Hodegos*, and the Muslims', *Greek Orthodox Quarterly Review* 32 (1987) 341-58, see 358.

prophecy, but also about true versus false prophets. The status of Muḥammad as a prophet, the signs by which he is known, and the comparison of Muḥammad and Jesus are already issues in the Qur'ān. Thus, for a time, Islamic thinking developed side by side with Christian treatments of similar themes in the different context of anti-Jewish disputes. The earliest Greek writer to show clear awareness of Qur'ānic doctrines is Anastasius of Sinai;⁹⁰ when Christians took up the Muslim challenge, they did so by drawing on Old Testament prophecy to refute Qur'ānic teachings in a manner very familiar from the anti-Jewish literature. According to John of Damascus, the burden of proof was upon Muslims: they were the ones who should be asking for proofs that Muhammad is a prophet, but 'they remain silent'.⁹¹ As for the development of *kalām*, the valuable article on the subject by Michael Cook⁹² stresses the importance of Syriac as well as the Greek antecedents commonly adduced, but still gives only a limited picture of the rich documentation of earlier disputation literature, and criticises earlier discussions for being 'oddly biased' (sic) towards Christian polemic against the Jews;⁹³ against this view, while there were indeed many kinds of disputation besides the Christian-Jewish ones, the subject matter of the latter alone surely does make them a major element in the evolution of Muslim debates, just as they lead naturally into the genre of Christian-Muslim apologetic.⁹⁴

90. See Griffith, 'Anastasios of Sinai'.

91. PG 94.768A. For some of the apologetic themes, see D. Sahas, 'The formation of later Islamic doctrines as a response to Byzantine polemics: the miracles of Muhammad', *ibid.* 27 (1982) 307-24; S. Stroumsa, 'The Signs of Prophecy: the emergence and development of a theme in Arabic theological literature', *Harvard Theological Review* 78 (1985) 104-14. For John of Damascus on Islam (treated as a 'heresy'), and the authenticity of *De Haeresibus* 100 and the *Dialogue between a Saracen and a Christian*, see now R. Le Coz, *Jean Damascène: Écrits sur l'Islam*, Sources chrétiennes 383 (Paris 1992), with rev. by Averil Cameron, *JTh.S* n.s. 46 (1995) 368-72.

92. Above, n. 31.

93. Cook, 'The origins of *kalām*', 34, criticising J. Van Ess, 'Disputationspraxis in der islamischer Theologie, eine vorläufiger Skizze', *Rev. des ét. islamiques* 44 (1976) 23-60.

94. On which see S.H. Griffith, 'Disputes with Muslims in Syriac Christian texts: from patriarch John (d.648) to Bar Hebraeus (d.1286), in *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien (Berlin 1993) 251-73; for the date of the letter of the Patriarch John see above, n. 31. Also valuable is A. Ducellier, *Le Miroir de l'Islam. Musulmans et chrétiens d'orient au Moyen Âge (VII^e-XI^e siècle)* (Paris 1971). (After

It has been something of an article of faith that Jews were treated better under Islam than by the Byzantines.⁹⁵ This view has been challenged lately and a picture of Muslim oppression of Jews advocated in its place.⁹⁶ It is not hard to see a hidden agenda here, and the truth must lie somewhere at mid-point, though given the nature of the sources, an objective assessment remains difficult.⁹⁷ But we can now say with some confidence that the Arab conquest did not constitute the massive and immediate cultural divide that has so often been assumed; life went on in many places much as before, with local contacts between the existing inhabitants and the newcomers.⁹⁸ A more realistic date for substantial, though still gradual, change would have to be found in the mid-eighth century, with the move of the Islamic capital to the east at Baghdad, with something of a turning-point earlier, coinciding with the public display of Islam towards the end of the seventh century.

* * *

This survey has been restricted in the main to the seventh and early eighth centuries. It could of course have started earlier and concluded later. But I would still argue that during that time-span a variety of particular reasons combined to intensify Byzantine awareness of, and perhaps apprehension about, Jews and Judaism. The catalogue of

John of Damascus, the Christian-Muslim debates move largely, though not wholly, from Greek into Arabic: see e.g. S.H. Griffith, 'The first Christian Summa Theologiae in Arabic: Christian *Kalām* in ninth century Palestine', in M. Gervers and R.J. Bikhazi, eds., *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto 1989) 15-31; 'Greek into Arabic. Life and letters in the monasteries of Palestine in the ninth century: the example of the Summa Theologiae Arabica', *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 117-38.

95. Even, e.g. S. Reif, in an otherwise valuable article (above, p.252), 139, claims Islamic rule as a 'golden age' for Jews; many historians simply assume without question that Jews were ill-treated by, and hostile to, Byzantines.

96. Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam* (Eng. trans., New Jersey, London, Toronto 1985).

97. See M. Cohen, 'Islam and the Jews: myth, counter-myth and history', *The Jerusalem Quarterly* 38 (1986) 125-37.

98. See the archaeological evidence presented in G.R.D. King and Averil Cameron, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East II. Land Use and Settlement Patterns* (Princeton 1994).

references does not make happy reading, but whether it adds up to anti-semitism in the manner in which we have come to know it is questionable, for the Byzantines did not mince their words when writing about any group of which they did not approve, whether heretics, schismatics or pagans.⁹⁹ Recent work has been moving towards a recognition that what we are seeing is the development of stereotypes, and the extent to which some of the most apparently circumstantial historical accounts of the period are themselves ideologically driven and dominated by these polemical categories. But the thrust of recent work goes beyond that. It is beginning to be clear, first, that the theological and ideological arguments of the period had repercussions in every level and corner of Byzantine society, and second, that the complex situation in the eastern provinces in the century of Islam can only be understood after the most detailed and patient work on individual parts of the evidence, whether literary texts or the archaeological record. In the several joint enterprises between Byzantinists and Islamicists that have been a feature of the last decade and which are still continuing,¹⁰⁰ the role of the Jews has quickly emerged as one of the most central themes to be explored, and indeed, one of the striking features of recent years has been the way in which this has been taken up by distinguished Byzantinists.¹⁰¹ This is a subject, therefore, with several dimensions, by no means to be regarded as a specialist backwater. It seems likely that we shall see further developments in the years to come.

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99. Cameron, 'Texts as weapons', 211-12; the abuse heaped on Constantine V by iconophile writers is a good example of their style, which was shared by lay and clerical authors alike.

100. See as well as the publication edited by Raby and Johns (n. 23) the collection of papers in F.M. Clover and S. Humphreys, eds., *Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity* (Madison 1989); the project on Late Antiquity and Early Islam, with the publication series *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (Darwin Press, Princeton), led by Averil Cameron, Lawrence I. Conrad and Geoffrey King, grew out of an interdisciplinary colloquium held in London in 1986.

101. Conspicuous among them is the work of G. Dagron and his colleagues in Paris, represented in the articles cited above from *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991) and in Flusin, *Saint Anastase*.

Cavafy's Byzantium*

SARAH EKDAWI

Cavafy's interest in Byzantium dates from a very early stage in his poetic career. In fact, the Byzantine empire appears to have been the first historical period to attract the self-styled 'historian-poet's' attention. Some of Cavafy's earliest historical poems and many of the poems of his maturity bear witness to this, and several of his early prose writings are also indicative of his keen interest in the period.¹ In June 1882, shortly before and during his family's temporary removal to Constantinople, Cavafy began to keep a journal called 'Constantinopoliad. An Epic'.² Ten years later, he wrote a newspaper article on the Byzantine poets, 'Οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ Ποιηταί'.³ The reason for Cavafy's early and enduring interest in the Byzantine period, especially Middle and Late Byzantium, may well be connected with the fact that Cavafy had family roots in Constantinople.⁴ A second factor is that, for a Greek of the Diaspora, Late Antiquity, when the centre of Hellenism was no longer Athens, held a particular fascination. Cavafy was able, by means of Byzantium, to lay claim to an elevated genealogy, both for himself

*This paper was originally presented at the Oxford Modern Greek Graduate seminar, at the invitation of Peter Mackridge, and benefitted from discussion there. It also owes much to Margaret Mullett, her Byzantine Department at Queen's and her copy of Gibbon.

1. The fullest discussion of Cavafy's early encounter with Byzantium can be found in Diana Haas's doctoral dissertation, now in press, *Le problème religieux dans l'oeuvre de Cavafy. Les années de formation 1882-1905*, Université de Lille III [Sorbonne] (Paris 1987). Haas gives a meticulous account of Cavafy's sources, as well as providing invaluable details of some of the unpublished documents in the Cavafy Archive. Although I differ with Haas over interpretation of some of the key poems relevant to this discussion, her contribution to this subject cannot be overestimated.

2. This unpublished manuscript is in the Cavafy archive; extracts were published by Lena Savidis in *Λεύκωμα Καβάφη* (Athens 1983). The period of the Cavafy family's sojourn in Constantinople was July 1882-October 1885; see Robert Liddell, *Cavafy: a Critical Biography* (London 1974) 35-50.

3. Published in the newspaper *Τηλέγραφος* (Alexandria 11/23 April 1892).

4. See V. Karagiannis, *Σημειώσεις ἀπὸ τὴν 'Γενεαλογία' τοῦ Καβάφη* (Athens 1983) for an account of the 'Γενεαλογία' composed by Cavafy in 1909.

(as a descendant of the Phanariots) and for his poetry, as central to (through being descended from) the poetic tradition of Byzantine Egypt,⁵ rather than peripheral to the Modern Athenian School.

In this paper, I shall discuss Cavafy's poetic engagement with Byzantium in the context of the 'Byzantine Days' Heading in his early thematic catalogue.⁶ I shall consider the surviving evidence concerning the nature of the lost, early Byzantine poems and discuss what characterises or unifies the later, extant Byzantine poems. I shall try to identify which aspects of Byzantium interested Cavafy, arguing that between his early and later attempts to write 'Byzantine poems' a radical shift in his historical perspective took place. My argument is based on the assumption that Cavafy's Byzantine poems should be read against and alongside one another, and that viewed as a group, if not a sequence, they cast light on one another.

G.P. Savidis has convincingly — but I believe erroneously — presented the following timetable for Cavafy's engagement with Byzantium:

- (1) 1888-1892: Cavafy writes eleven undistinguished Byzantine poems.
- (2) 1896-1899: Cavafy reads and annotates Gibbon.
- (3) 1903: Cavafy carries out a purge of all his poetry to date.⁷
- (4) 1912 onwards: Cavafy writes eight new Byzantine poems and rewrites two old ones.

Apart from minor quibbles about what constitutes a Byzantine poem, I have one major disagreement with this timetable. If Cavafy did not read Gibbon until after he had written his first set of Byzantine poems, how can we explain the fact that these early poems seem to owe much more to Gibbon than some of the later ones? I will return to this point.

My main preoccupation in this paper is not with Cavafy's sources. We already have a fairly good account of these; Savidis provides a

5. See Alan Cameron, 'Wandering Poets: a Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt', in *Literature and Society in the Early Byzantine World* (London 1985) 471-509.

6. See footnote 10 below.

7. This would presumably be the stage at which all the 'lost' Byzantine poems were destroyed by the poet.

schematic list in 'Cavafy, Gibbon and Byzantium',⁸ and Diana Haas has published Cavafy's reading notes on Gibbon, with a comprehensive introduction and notes.⁹ My aim in this paper is to concentrate on the poems themselves, and attempt to discuss the later group as a development from the earlier one.

In order to propose a definition of a 'Byzantine poem', I shall present two lists, the first of which is Cavafy's, and the second, my own. The lists contain Cavafy's early and later Byzantine poems respectively. The first list is taken from Cavafy's thematic catalogue, an early system of classification where Cavafy listed his poems under nine headings.¹⁰ One of these headings was 'Βυζαντινὰ Ἡμέραι' ('Byzantine Days'), and this is the list presented. The dates which I have added to the lists constitute the probable dates of the historical events alluded to in the poems, rather than the dates of composition or publication of the poems themselves. A further point should be made: Cavafy used a system of abbreviations of his own devising for his handwritten catalogues (some thematic; others chronological), which is occasionally impenetrable to others.¹¹ For this reason, some of the titles on the first list appear as alternatives, with the less probable reading in brackets.

8. G.P. Savidis, *Μικρά Καβαφικά Α* (Athens 1987) 93-99.

9. Diana Haas, 'Cavafy's Reading Notes on Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*', *Folia Neohellenica* 4 (1982) 25-96. In her thesis, Haas also discusses the importance of Paparrigopoulos to Cavafy's view of Byzantine history. For a short version of this discussion, see Diana Haas, 'Στόν ἔνδοξό μας Βυζαντινισμό: σημειώσεις γιὰ ἓνα στίχο τοῦ Καβάφη', in S.P. Spartses (ed.), *Πρακτικά τρίτου συμποσίου ποιήσης. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Κ.Π. Καβάφη*, Πανεπιστήμιο Πάτρων 1-3 Ιουλίου 1983 (Athens 1984) 183-195.

10. See G.P. Savidis, *Οἱ Καβαφικὲς Ἐκδόσεις* (Athens 1966) 137. See also Diana Haas, 'Αἱ ἀρχαὶ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ: ἓνα θεματικὸ κεφάλαιο τοῦ Καβάφη', *Χάρτης* 5/6 (Athens April 1983) (Cavafy commemorative volume) 589-608. The so-called 'Thematic Catalogue' (there is no indication that the term is the poet's) remains unpublished in the Cavafy Archive. It is not available for inspection.

11. A photocopied reproduction of the page (or part of a page) laconically headed 'Βυζ. Ημ.' appears in Diana Haas, 'Στόν ἔνδοξό μας Βυζαντινισμό', *Διαβάζω. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Κ.Π. Καβάφη* 79. Although the poet's handwriting is not unclear, the combination of his idiosyncratic abbreviations with the mass of scorings out makes it difficult to decipher. From the photocopy, Cavafy appears to have scored out the first, third, fourth, fifth, eighth, ninth and tenth of the poems listed.

'Byzantine Days': The Early Byzantine Poems (c. 1888-1892)

Εὐδοκίας (ἢ Εὐδοξίας) Αὐγουστας Ἐπαινος (c. 401-460) [lost]

Ἡ ἐπὶ Εἰρήνης Ἀναστύλῳσις τῶν Εἰκόνων (c. 780) [lost]

Κάρολος ὁ Μέγας (c. 780) [lost]

Αἱ Ἀξιώσεις τοῦ Πάπα (c. 780) [lost]

Ἡ Ἀνάκτησις τῆς Κρήτης (961) [lost]

Πρὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ (1099) [2 disowned drafts survive]

Ἡ Ἀλῶσις τῆς Νικαίας (ἢ Νικοπόλεως) (1097) [lost]

Ὁ Καλὸς Ἱππότης (ἢ Ὁ Κακὸς Ἱππότης) (c. 1099) lost

Ὁ Γραικὸς Στρατιώτης (c. 1099) [lost]

Ὁ Χρεμετισμὸς τοῦ Ἴππου (c. 1099) [lost]

Ἐέλω θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν' (=Θεόφιλος Παλαιολόγος) (1453)

'Our Glorious Byzantinism': The Later Byzantine Poems (c. 1905-1929)

Ἄννα Δαλασσηνή (1081)

Μανουὴλ Κομνηνός (September 1180)

Στὴν Ἐκκλησίᾳ (c. 306-1906)

Βυζαντινὸς Ἀρχων, Ἐξόροστος, Στιχουργῶν (1078-1118)

Ἄννα Κομνηνὴ (1118 and 1136/7)

Ὁ Ἰωάννης Καντακουζηνός Ὑπερισχύει (1347)

Ἀπὸ Ὑαλὶ Χρωματιστό (later in 1347)

Θεόφιλος Παλαιολόγος (1453) [unpublished]

Πάρθεν (1453-1921) [unpublished]

As can be seen, very few of the poems on the first list have survived. This list can be taken as representative of what Cavafy himself considered to be his early Byzantine poems, and it is these poems which he would appear to be describing as 'trash' in the autoscholium of 1906,¹² the note in which Cavafy explicitly disowns some of his early poems. The only poem which can confidently be placed on the second list is 'Θεόφιλος Παλαιολόγος', since Cavafy himself included an earlier version of it in 'Byzantine Days'. As I hope to show, however, this poem marks a transitional stage between the two groups, rather than belonging definitively to either. 'Θεόφιλος Παλαιολόγος' is the only real survivor from the first group. I discount the two surviving drafts of 'Πρὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ', because Cavafy abandoned not only this poem (the second draft of which he never rewrote or revised), but also its Western perspective, the Frankish crusaders besieging Jerusalem.

12. See G.P. Savidis, *Οἱ Καβαφικές Ἐκδόσεις*, 107.

In compiling the second list, I disagree with Savidis, who includes among later Byzantine poems “Ἰμενος”, from the canon, and ‘Φυγάδες’, from the unpublished poems.¹³ His criterion appears to be any reference at all to Byzantium, whereas I have preferred to include only poems which engage directly with it. “Ἰμενος” does not correspond to my working definition of a later Byzantine poem, because it does not hinge on the church, the imperial family, or Byzantine historiography. Its subject-matter has more bearing on Cavafy’s erotic poetry, since it deals with sick or healthy ἡδονή. The final line, ‘στοὺς ἄσωτους καιροὺς τοῦ τρίτου Μιχαήλ’, is not enough to confer Byzantine status on this poem about loose-living. “Ἰμενος” is an instance of a Cavafian erotic poem in which a historical alibi is used as a pretext for discussing homoerotic preoccupations, just as ‘Μελαγχολία τοῦ Ἰάσωνος Κλεάνδρου· Ποιητοῦ ἐν Κομμαγενῇ· 595 μ.Χ.’ introduces a mock-historical persona in order to talk about that other great preoccupation of the poet: ageing. Similarly, the fact that ‘Φυγάδες’ mentions the Byzantine empire does not alter the fact that its theme is Alexandria and fugitives. My basic definition of a Byzantine poem, then, is a poem which deals with, as opposed to merely mentioning, aspects of Byzantine history or civilisation.

I would now like to consider the early poems. It seems to me, from a very cursory reading of Gibbon indeed, that the subject-matter and Western orientation of these poems have been lifted almost wholesale from the ‘Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire’. The fact — if it is a fact — that Cavafy wrote his reading notes on Gibbon between 1896 and 1899 does not preclude one or even several earlier readings. Haas argues that Cavafy purchased his copy of Gibbon in 1896, after writing the poems of ‘Byzantine Days’, but we surely cannot deduce from this that he never saw a copy prior to buying his own. Again,

13. In using the terms ‘canon’ and ‘unpublished poems’, I am following the well-established convention, whereby the former refers to the two-volume edition of Cavafy’s poems (edited by G.P. Savidis; first published in 1963, and revised in 1991) and the latter to poems which Cavafy chose not to publish, but did not disown (edited by G.P. Savidis, *Κ.Π. Καβάφη: Ἀνέκδοτα Ποιήματα* [Athens 1977]). Savidis has also edited and published a volume of Cavafy’s so-called ‘disowned poems’ (*Τὰ Ἀποκυρηγμένα* [Athens 1983]) and a further volume which combines the unpublished and disowned poems, adding eight subsequently discovered texts to them (*Κ.Π. Καβάφη: Κρυμμένα Ποιήματα* [Athens 1993]).

Cavafy may have read parts of Gibbon, not necessarily the whole work, before embarking on a more systematic approach with annotations. This cannot be definitively established, but I would suggest that there are strong reasons for supposing that Cavafy had read at least three chapters of Gibbon before 1896.

About the early Byzantine poems, Savidis writes: 'The titles of the poems grouped under the heading of "Βυζαντιναὶ Ἡμέραι", in conjunction with the few surviving texts of poems belonging to [the headings] "Ἀρχαῖαι Ἡμέραι" (Ancient Days) and "Αἱ Ἀρχαὶ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ" (The Beginnings of Christianity) give us a more or less concrete idea of their subject-matter and treatment — in other words: historical vignettes or anecdotes, versified with care but rather frigidly, without the inimitable dramatic or ironic mastery which Cavafy was gradually to acquire [...] through his thoughtful assimilation of Browning and very probably as a result of his critical reading of Gibbon.'

The only surviving evidence for these assertions is to be found in the two drafts, one in Katharevousa and the other more demotic, of 'Πρὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ'. No earlier version of 'Θεόφιλος Παλαιολόγος' (or 'Θέλω θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν') has survived. Reviewing this evidence briefly, I note that 'Πρὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ' is clumsy and repetitious, but does contain two levels of irony. It explicitly contrasts the usual attitudes of the crusaders, their 'passion, cupidity, ambition, courage and good horsemanship', with their reaction to arrival at the gates of Jerusalem: trembling and tears. Implicitly, it contrasts the latter gentle display of emotion with the hideous slaughter which the informed reader knows was to follow. On this basis alone, it would seem that irony already played some part in Cavafy's Byzantine poems. As for what we might learn, in this context, from 'Ancient Days' and 'The Beginnings of Christianity', the inclusion of mythological subjects alongside historical ones under the first heading, and of Julian the Apostate under the second, would appear to suggest a certain measure of irony in the treatment of these themes also.

Reading down the 'Byzantine Days' list, if we begin at "Ἡ Ἀνάκτησις τῆς Κρήτης", we find what may be described as a sequence of holy war poems, beginning with the capture of Crete

and ending with the siege of Constantinople. If we remove this whole group temporarily, we are left with Gibbon chapter 49 plus either the end of chapter 32, which is sub-titled 'The Adventures of Eudocia', or the earlier part of the same chapter, which deals with the empress Eudoxia. Eudoxia was the persecutor of St. John Chrysostom, and Eudocia renounced paganism to marry Theodosius II. It is significant that both ladies are famed for religious or irreligious activities, but that only Eudocia was accorded the official title of Augusta, a point on which Gibbon insists. Given Cavafy's meticulous attention to such details, it is unlikely that his shorthand ('Εὐδ. Αὐγ.') could refer to Eudoxia. We should also remember Cavafy's interest in Julian and Paganism, here, since Eudocia was originally a pagan.¹⁴ Gibbon's chapter 49 deals with Charlemagne, papal pretensions or claims ('ἀξιώσεις')¹⁵ and what Gibbon terms the 'Restoration of images in the East', which took place in the reign of Leo IV, at the instigation of his wife, the empress Irene. This is the period in which Gibbon places what he calls, 'the final separation of the popes from the Eastern empire'. The connection between the three lost poems, 'Κάρολος ὁ Μέγας', 'Αἱ Ἀξιώσεις τοῦ Πάπα' and 'Ἡ ἐπὶ Εἰρήνης Ἀναστύλωσις τῶν Εἰκόνων' can be found in two consecutive pages of Gibbon, and the pope in question can be identified. 'Fraud', writes Gibbon, 'is the resource of weakness and cunning; and the strong, though ignorant, barbarian was often entangled in the net of sacerdotal policy.' The 'strong, though ignorant, barbarian' is Charlemagne. Gibbon now goes on to explain how Pope Adrian I persuaded the said barbarian to confer on Adrian himself and his successors 'the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy and the provinces of the West.' The next section of the text begins, 'While the popes established in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images, the first cause of their revolt, were restored

14. Diana Haas, *Le problème religieux* . . . 38, eventually reaches the same conclusion, but by a different route, arguing that Cavafy knew Eudocia's history from Paparrigopoulos. This may be the case, but it is nonetheless Gibbon who emphasises Eudocia's title and its exclusivity. The proximity of Eudocia, the popes and the crusaders in Gibbon cannot be discounted in this context.

15. Savidis translates 'ἀξιώσεις' as 'claims' in 'Gibbon, Cavafy and Byzantium' 95; I am suggesting, instead, that Cavafy is using the word to render Gibbon's 'pretensions'.

in the Eastern empire'. Given the juxtaposition of Charlemagne, the popes and the empress Irene's restoration of images in Gibbon's work, and given also the proximity of the confusingly-named Eudocia and Eudoxia, in an earlier chapter, it seems improbable, to say the least, that Cavafy had not, at this stage, read at least the relevant chapters.¹⁶

In these four poems, 'Κάρολος ὁ Μέγας', 'Αἱ Ἀξιώσεις τοῦ Πάπα', 'Ἡ ἐπὶ Εἰρήνης Ἀναστύλῳσις τῶν Εἰκόνων' and 'Εὐδοκίας (ἢ Εὐδοξίας) Αὐγουστας Ἐπαινος', we can trace the germ of Cavafy's Byzantium. The poems, or rather their titles, refer to the church, the imperial family and — implicitly at least — a historical source. On this last point, Diana Haas is in agreement with me,¹⁷ although she believes that the source in question is not Gibbon but Paparrigopoulos. I am more inclined to think that Paparrigopoulos may, as Haas argues, have influenced Cavafy's perspective, but that Gibbon was the original source for subject-matter.

Cavafy's association of the church with Byzantium will be seen in the later poems, especially 'Μανουὴλ Κομνηνός' and 'Στὴν Ἐκκλησίᾳ'. In the early poems, it is interesting to note that he appears to have focused on the church during periods of conflict, and in particular on the separation of East from West. Most of the remaining early poems, which I shall discuss below, deal with an aggressive aspect of Western Christendom: the crusades. I am unable to agree with Savidis, who insists on the close association of the 'Byzantine Days' and 'Ancient Days' headings, without suggesting any criterion other than the repetition of the word 'Days' or the broad historicity (by no means applicable to all the 'Ancient Days' poems) of both groups,¹⁸ but I think that Savidis is right to follow Haas in linking 'Byzantine Days' with 'The Beginnings of Christianity'. A full discussion of 'The Beginnings of Christianity' is beyond the scope of the present paper, and has, in any case, already been undertaken

16. Diana Haas argues that Cavafy experienced a crisis of poetic consciousness during the years 1899-1903, followed by purges and revisions of all his work to date; according to G.P. Savidis, this crisis was related to Cavafy's reading of Gibbon ('Gibbon, Cavafy and Byzantium', 96). I would suggest that Cavafy was re-reading Gibbon, at this time, in the light of Paparrigopoulos, rather than encountering Gibbon for the first time after reading Paparrigopoulos.

17. Diana Haas, 'Στόν ἑνδοξό μας Βυζαντινισμό', 184.

18. G.P. Savidis, 'Cavafy, Gibbon and Byzantium', 95.

by Haas, but I would like to emphasise that Cavafy's two earliest Julian poems belong to this group. The irony of placing Julian, the emperor who tried to drive Christianity out of Byzantium, under this heading is, I think, self-evident.¹⁹ It is also consistent with the theme of the church in conflict.

The remaining poems in the 'Byzantine Days' group, with the possible exception of 'Θέλω θανεῖν μάλλον ἢ ζῆν', represent the subject-matter later excised by Cavafy from his Byzantine poems. The main substance of these excisions would appear to be crusaders and captured cities. The phrase 'ἵπποτική ὑπερηφάνεια', in the katharevousa version of 'Πρὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ' (or 'ἡ ὑπερηφάνεια ἡ ἵπποτική των', in the more demotic version), suggests a connection with the 'καλός' or possibly 'κακός' ἵπποτης and also conceivably with 'Ὁ Χρεμετισμὸς τοῦ Ἰππου'. The quarrel between the crusaders and the Greeks, 'τὰς ξριδας μὲ τοὺς Γραικοὺς' in both versions of 'Πρὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ', may provide a clue to the identity of the Greek soldier, 'Ὁ Γραικὸς Στρατιώτης'. That is, he may be one of the besieged inside Jerusalem, or a Greek soldier in the crusader ranks. Diana Haas situates these poems in 'the time of the crusaders', but if all the poems which mention horses or horsemen belong with 'Πρὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ', we can be more precise and date them to 1099. This leaves us with the capture of Nicaea (1097) or Nikopolis (1396) and the recapture of Crete (961 or 1211). The subject of Nicaea may have been suggested to Cavafy by Gibbon's section on 'The final separation of the popes from the Eastern empire', which begins: 'It was after the Nicene synod, and under the reign of the pious Irene, that the pope consummated the separation of Rome and Italy by the translation of the empire to the less orthodox Charlemagne'. On the previous page, we learn that in 842, pope Adrian I 'accepted and announced the decrees of the Nicene assembly, which is now revered by Catholics as the seventh in rank of the general councils'. This takes us back to Charlemagne and pope Adrian I. The date of the siege of Nicaea, 1097, however, introduces an anachronism into Cavafy's list, which has so far been

19. For a useful discussion of Cavafy's Julian poems, see G.W. Bowerstock, 'The Julian Poems of C.P. Cavafy', *BMGs* 7 (1981) 89-104.

strictly chronological. Alternatively, we can move forward in time to 1396, when the Christians were defeated at Nikopolis by the Turks. This is scarcely less anomalous in the context of crusader victories. The recapture of Crete is also problematic, since we cannot be sure of who was recapturing the island from whom. It could be a reference to the end of the fourth crusade, 1211, when the Venetians took possession of Crete, but is perhaps more likely to refer to the recapture of the island from the Moslems by Nicephorus Phocas, in 961. The anachronistic ordering, Crete 1211, Jerusalem 1099, Nicaea 1097, is less convincing than the strict chronological one, Crete 961, Jerusalem 1099, Nicopolis 1396, given Cavafy's usual working practice. Although it seems unlikely that Cavafy would have wished to celebrate an Ottoman triumph (Nicopolis, 1396), it should not be forgotten that 'Θέλω θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν', the final poem in the group, refers to the Fall of Constantinople and that 'ἄλωσις' is the word usually used to refer to this. If 'Ἡ Ἀλωσις τῆς Νικαίας' does in fact refer to the Ottoman capture of Nicopolis, the three intervening poems might belong either to the same period, or, conceivably to 1453. This would indicate that Diana Haas and I are mistaken in assuming that these three poems concern crusaders.

The two drafts of 'Πρὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ' show a move in the direction of Demotic. So, it would seem that along with the knights and their horses and conquests, Cavafy decided to dispense with the quaint linguistic idiom,²⁰ when he came to write his later poems on Byzantium.

The poem 'Θέλω θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν' or 'Θεόφιλος Παλαιολόγος' fits neither the early nor the later group exactly. There are no crusaders in it, but Theophilus Palaeologus does not figure in the relevant chapters of Gibbon either. Cavafy's own ambivalence about the poem is suggested by the fact that he rewrote or revised it, changing the title, and kept it among his papers but never circulated it. He also kept a record of his sources for the poem: Frantzis,

20. Although Cavafy kept a note of 'Poems written in Katharevousa' (see, for example, the editor's notes to *C.P. Cavafy: Unpublished Poems*, 215), the distinction between such poems and the rest of his mature oeuvre is by no means clear cut; it is a question, rather, of degree.

Mortmann and Schlumberger. The surviving poem is in mixed language, and contains more pathos than irony.

By the time Cavafy started writing his later Byzantine poems, his interest in Byzantium had swung from West to East, and was no longer bellicose or equestrian. The beginning of this process can probably be traced to the chapters in Gibbon already referred to, and it is particularly interesting to observe the switch from Charlemagne's dealings with the pope to the dealings of Manuel Comnenus with Eastern Byzantine Orthodoxy. I would go as far as to speculate that the second two poems on the second list are direct replacements for poems 3 and 4 on the first list. By now, Cavafy has abandoned his thematic catalogue, and is using a more complicated system of thematic classification. A detailed description of Cavafy's working practice can be found in G.P. Savidis, *Οἱ Καβαφικές Έκδόσεις*,²¹ so I shall confine myself to a brief reprise of the relevant facts.

By the end of his life, Cavafy had devised and was circulating thematic collections of all the poems he had not disowned up to the year 1918. When he died, he had not yet finished the thematic ordering of poems written after 1918. This is why the two-volume edition of the poems edited by G.P. Savidis consists partly of a thematic arrangement (volume 1) and partly of a chronological one (volume 2). The importance of the thematic ordering, which Cavafy himself referred to as 'ἡ κατάταξις ἡ σωστή, ἡ κατὰ θέματα',²² has tended to become obscured because the titles given to the thematic collections by Cavafy were chronological and not thematic, for example, 'Poems 1905-1915'. The significance of all this for the later Byzantine poems is that we know the thematic order of the two which date from before 1918: 'Μανουὴλ Κομνηνός' and 'Στὴν Ἐκκλησίᾳ'. These poems were always placed one after the other in the thematic collections, and so were apparently intended to be read in sequence. I am suggesting that Cavafy is toying with the

21. See especially 137. See also Anthony Hirst, 'Historical, Philosophical, Sensual: an examination of Cavafy's thematic collections', *BMGS* 19 (1995) 33-93.

22. In a letter to Napoleon Lapathiotis, quoted in G.P. Savidis, *Οἱ Καβαφικές Έκδόσεις*, 63.

same idea — the emperor and the church — but has changed emperors and churches, replacing Gibbon's Western barbarian with a dissolute Eastern autocrat, and Catholicism with Orthodoxy.

The juxtaposition of these two earliest of the later Byzantine poems allows us to observe what Hirst has called their 'complex interplay',²³ a contention that runs counter to the argument advanced by Diana Haas. Leaving aside the question of 'Μανουήλ Κομνηνός', Haas argues that Cavafy is unequivocally praising Byzantinism in 'Στὴν Ἐκκλησίᾳ'. He is, she says, denuding the term of its negative connotations in English, French and Greek, by applying to it the adjective "Ἐνδοξός", and furthermore he is expressing patriotic pride in the phrase 'τιμὲς μεγάλες τῆς φυλῆς μας'.²⁴ In other words, Cavafy, who on Haas's thesis has now discovered Gibbon, is expressing profound religious and patriotic feelings. For Haas, 'Στὴν Ἐκκλησίᾳ' is in no sense ironical. Without the disruptive presence of 'Μανουήλ Κομνηνός',²⁵ this reading might just about be tenable.

'Μανουήλ Κομνηνός' recounts how the emperor, feeling close to death, had recourse to the church. As was the custom, Manuel took the schema, that is, he called for church vestments, and dressed himself up in them. Cavafy concludes:

Εὐτυχισμένοι ὅλοι ποὺ πιστεύουν,
καὶ σὰν τὸν βασιλέα κύρ Μανουήλ τελειώνουν
ντυμένοι μὲς τὴν πίστι τῶν σεμνότατα.

The irony of 'Blessed are those who believe and die dressed-up as believers' surely does not require elucidation.²⁶ The poem which

23. Hirst also calls attention to the high level of lexical echoing between the two poems, *ibid.*

24. This view is shared by Hatziphotis, who states that Cavafy is writing 'with genuine pride of the great honours of our race [and] of our glorious Byzantinism'. See I.M. Hatziphotis, 'Ὁ Καβάφης καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιο', *Καβαφικά μελετήματα καὶ δοκίμια* (Athens 1993) 77.

25. Haas refers to 'Μανουήλ Κομνηνός' as an example of a religious poem, see *Le problème religieux* . . . , Avant propos.

26. See, however, Panagiotis A. Agapitos, 'Byzantium in the Poetry of Palamas and Cavafy', *Κάμπος* 2 (1994) 1-20, in which three of Cavafy's later Byzantine poems are briefly discussed. Agapitos points out that Cavafy's source for 'Μανουήλ Κομνηνός' is Choniates (14-15).

follows begins: 'Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀγαπῶ', and goes on to list the aesthetic aspects of the church and its liturgy that the speaker — who may not, of course, be identifiable with Cavafy himself, a possibility Haas fails to consider — allegedly loves. Church vestments once again play a significant role here; upon seeing the priests in their shining robes, the speaker ends his reflections:

Ὁ νοῦς μου παῖνει σὲ τιμὲς μεγάλες τῆς φυλῆς μας
στὸν ἑνδοξό μας Βυζαντινισμό.

In the light of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Greek and European attitudes to Byzantium, this is an extraordinary and extraordinarily original assertion.²⁷ In the first place, the Orthodox Church was not regarded by turn-of-the-century Greece as an artefact in any sense. For one thing, its actual buildings were architecturally suspect, since they were post-classical. For another, its role was presumably meant to be spiritual, rather than decorative. Cavafy's emphasis on the church's outward manifestations — the candles, icons, incense, and chanting, as well as the delightful apparel and kinetic elegance of the priests — is provocative, if not openly mocking. The 'τιμὲς μεγάλες', as Anthony Hirst has pointed out, are called into question by the life and character of Manuel Comnenos, alluded to in the preceding poem.

Given Cavafy's surely aesthetic interest in Byzantine icons and their reinstatement by Irene, we should also perhaps consider in this context the earlier poem of 1896, 'Δέησις', where the uselessness of a religious artefact is stressed. 'Δέησις' was one of the poems in Cavafy's first thematic collection, where it occupied a position between 'Ἐνας Γέρος' and 'Ἡ Ψυχαὶς τῶν Γερόντων', possibly to draw attention to the inefficacy of prayer against the horrors of ageing, as well as death. It is used to draw together poems which belonged originally to different sections of the thematic catalogue. 'Ἐνας Γέρος' was originally the last poem listed under 'Fleeting Years'

27. Here, indeed, as Haas has argued, Cavafy would seem to be following Paparrigopoulos as an apologist for Byzantium. This cannot, however, be assumed to be the case in the earlier, lost Byzantine poems, whose Western perspective is clear from their titles.

(‘Ἔτη Πτερόεντα’), and ‘Ἡ Ψυχαὶς τῶν Γερόντων’ was the last under the next heading, ‘Prisons’ (‘Φυλακαί’).²⁸ ‘Δέσις’ concerns a mother’s prayer for the safety of her son, who is already dead. It is addressed, apparently, not to the Mother of God, but to a picture of her. So, it is not the Theotokos who hears the prayer, but her image:

Ἡ εἰκὼν ἀκούει, σοβαρὴ καὶ λυπημένη,
ξεύροντας πῶς δὲν θὰ ἴλθῃ πιά ὁ υἱὸς ποῦ περιμένει.

This poem, like ‘Μανουὴλ Κομνηνός’ and ‘Στὴν Ἐκκλησία’ seems to me to question devotional practices, rather than commending them.

In proposing an order for the remaining Byzantine poems, I am following Hirst’s suggestion that within his thematic sequences, Cavafy placed historical poems in chronological order of the events to which they refer.

If the church constitutes a central pivot in Cavafy’s Byzantium, the other two major preoccupations are the imperial family and texts. With the exception of ‘Στὴν Ἐκκλησία’, which is presented alongside ‘Μανουὴλ Κομνηνός’, and ‘Πάρθεν’, which refers to the same time as ‘Θεόφιλος Παλαιολόγος’, all the remaining poems in this group mention emperors, empresses or their close relatives directly. This, of course, contravenes the received wisdom about Cavafy’s interest in characters on the margins of history. Texts play a crucial role in three poems: ‘Ἄννα Δαλασσηνή’, ‘Ἄννα Κομνηνή’ and ‘Πάρθεν’. In ‘Ἄννα Δαλασσηνή’, the quotation from the golden bull of Alexius Comnenos, prepared ‘γὰρ νὰ τιμήσῃ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ ἐπιφανῶς’ contains the ‘beautiful and polite phrase’, ‘Οὐ τὸ ἐμὸν ἢ τὸ σὸν, τὸ ψυχρὸν τοῦτο ῥῆμα, ἐρρήθη’ (‘Those harsh words mine and yours were never spoken by her’), a statement which may not have been borne out by events, since control of the empire seems to have become a bone of contention between Alexius and his mother. Anna Comnena’s *Alexiad* is also quoted as an instance

28. The order of the poems under the headings is taken from the editor’s notes to *C.P. Cavafy: Unpublished Poems*; we cannot, however, be certain that the ordering is the poet’s, since the relevant manuscripts remain unpublished.

of the discrepancy between written history and facts. Cavafy makes fun of the noble lady's linguistic and emotional excesses:

Εἰς ἑλιγγὸν εἶν' ἡ ψυχὴ της. Καὶ
 'ρεῖθροις δακρύων' μᾶς λέγει 'περιτέγγω
 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς . . . Φεῦ τῶν κυμάτων' τῆς ζωῆς της.

The real cause for her very genuine anguish, Cavafy tells us, is her thwarted ambition to rule the empire, and not the deaths of her parents or husband.²⁹

‘Ο Ἰωάννης Καντακουζηνὸς Ὑπερισχύει’ subverts Byzantine history from another angle. Firstly, it introduces a fictitious character, and secondly it brings another level of irony to bear on the encomiastic writings of the rulers about themselves and their families. To the ordinary Byzantine nobleman, who stood to lose his house and lands by siding with the wrong party, there was not much to choose between the widow of Andronikos III Palaiologos: ‘Εἶδαμε προκοπὴ / ἀπὸ τὸ φέριμό της, εἶδαμε ἀνθρωπιά’; and his chosen successor, John Cantacuzenus, ‘μὲ τὲς ὑποσχέσεις του, καὶ τὲς βλακεῖες’.

Following the triumph of John Cantacuzenus over other contenders for the throne, he and his wife, Irene Adronicus Asan, were crowned, wearing jewels of coloured glass. ‘Ἀπὸ Ὑαλὶ Χρωματιστό’ begins with an implicit reference to a textual source: ‘Πολὸν μὲ συγκινεῖ μιὰ λεπτομέρεια’, and goes on to describe the jewels as neither humble nor unworthy, but as symbols of the couple’s undeserved misfortune. Once again, if we deprive this poem of its context, the other Byzantine poems and especially the one that deals with the characters of John and Irene, we could agree with Haas that Cavafy is expressing genuine emotion in this poem and even patriotism (‘τοῦ ταλαιπῶρου κράτους μας ἦταν μεγάλ’ ἡ πτώχεια’),³⁰ but we are again confronted with the gap between appearance (a charming imperial couple in the crown jewels) and reality (a pair of scheming usurpers in false finery). ‘Ἀπὸ Ὑαλὶ Χρωματιστό’, like ‘Μανουῆλ

29. Agapitos argues that Paparrigopoulos is Cavafy’s primary source for this poem, *ibid.* 18.

30. Diana Haas, ‘Στόν ἐνδοξό μας Βυζαντινισμό’, 192.

Κομνηνός' and 'Στὴν Ἐκκλησίᾳ', deals with the theme of dressing up.

The textual source of the quotation in 'Θεόφιλος Παλαιολόγος' is not given in the poem, although Cavafy kept a record of his sources with the poem, among his papers. This time, he explores the hidden pathos, in the words of his protagonist:

Ἄ Κὺρ Θεόφιλε Παλαιολόγο,
πόσον καὶ μὲν τοῦ γένους μας, καὶ πόση ἐξάντλησι
(πόσον ἀπηύδουν ἀπὸ ἀδικίας καὶ κατατρεγμὸν)
οἱ τραγικὲς σου πέντε λέξεις περιεῖχαν.

This is not too far removed from the other Byzantine poems which explore the dichotomy between words and facts: Theophilus does not realise the full implications of what he is saying. Here, future events lend an added dimension which is not ironical, but was not suspected by the speaker. This is more like tragic irony, where the hero speaks in ignorance of something known to the audience.

It is the later, greater poem, 'Πάρθεν', which explores the conflicting echoes set up by different texts. There is an internal dialogue, between Cavafy's poem and the folksongs, but also, perhaps, a more diffuse dialogue with 'Θεόφιλος Παλαιολόγος', since both poems clearly refer to 1453. Although the speaker in 'Πάρθεν' claims, once again, to be moved by a textual detail ('μὲ ἀγγίξε'), our suspicions have already been aroused by his casual reference to the folksongs as 'πράγματα συμπαθητικά' and by his apparent indifference to which particular city has been lost:

Διάβαζα καὶ τὰ πένθιμα γὰρ τὸν χαμὸ τῆς Πόλης
Πῆραν τὴν Πόλην, πῆραν τὴν, πῆραν τὴν Σαλονίκην

The Pontic song which the speaker has been moved by is written in a strange idiom (παράξενη γλῶσσα) and contains the grief of those distance Greeks who probably believed all along that *we* would be saved:

καὶ μὲ τὴν λύπη τῶν Γραικῶν τῶν μακρινῶν ἐκείνων
ποῦ ἴσως ὅλο πίστεναν ποῦ θὰ σωθοῦμε ἀκόμη

This grief, then, is tempered by hope; the Greeks who composed the lament were not truly in despair — perhaps another hint that sincerity, like getting your cities right, is not of the essence where Art is concerned. Again, like Theophilus Palaeologus, the Pontic Greeks were unaware of the resonances which future events would confer on their words.

It is extremely tempting to see veiled references to Cavafy himself in 'Βυζαντινὸς Ἀρχὼν, Ἐξόριστος, Στιχουργῶν'. This exiled poet has an unparalleled knowledge of Byzantine texts:

[. . .] κανεῖς καλλίτερά μου δὲν γνωρίζει
Πατέρας ἢ Γραφάς, ἢ τοὺς Κανόνας τῶν Συνόδων

and of Byzantine reading, since this list is consistent with the preferred reading matter of 'ἡ κακεντρεχῆς Εἰρήνη Δούκαινα', as recorded by Anna Comnena.³¹ Further, this poet writes better than the Byzantines themselves:

[. . .] συνθέτω ἰάμβους ὀρθοτάτους,
ὅπως — θὰ μ'ἐπιτρέψετε νὰ πῶ — οἱ λόγοι
τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως δὲν ξέρουν νὰ συνθέσουν.

Whether or not we have here teasing allusions to Cavafy, this later Byzantine poem once more reveals an interest in texts and the empire's ruling dynasties. It is also, I think, significant that Cavafy's later set of Byzantine poems focus on a later period than the early ones: Middle and Late Byzantium. This as a period in which texts were being produced in large numbers, in monasteries and the wider world, and read by the laity as well as clerics. Cavafy's interest appears, then, to have been in *textualised* Byzantium.

I have been arguing that Cavafy's Byzantine poems belong together and should be read together. In support of this, I have tried to demonstrate some of the connections between them, and to show that

31. *Anne Comnène, Aléxiade*, ed. B. Leib (Paris 1967) II, v.9.3 (38).

we have two clear indications that Cavafy himself viewed them as a sequence: the early 'Byzantine Days' grouping and the later thematic collections. I would like to conclude with some suggestions about the nature of Cavafy's interest in Byzantium.

It seems to me that Cavfy was not really interested in history itself, but in historiography. In the early, lost Byzantine poems, he was exploring the Western perspective of Gibbon, which he subverts and refutes. At a later stage, he seems to have examined the texts themselves: Julian's letters and *Misopogon*; Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*; Alexius Comnenus's golden bulls. The broader implications of suggesting that the 'historian poet' was not interested in history are hinted at in Roddy Beaton's seminal paper, 'The History Man',³² which argues that Cavafy's main interest was in Time. To rephrase this as historiography has implications for the erotic poems, which may be viewed as personal historiography, historicising private, not historical, events, and could also help to explain the recurrence of the journal-like title 'Days of . . .' in such poems. Finally, the presence of non-historical alongside historical poems in 'Ancient Days', ascribed by Savidis to the looseness of this heading,³³ but saliently questioned by David Ricks,³⁴ may be part of this vital Cavafian process: the defamiliarisation and subversion of written history.

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32. R.M. Beaton, 'The History Man', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 10/1-2 (Spring-Summer 1983) 23-44.

33. G.P. Savidis, *Οἱ Καβαφικές Ἐκδόσεις*, 137.

34. David Ricks, *The Shade of Homer* (Cambridge 1983). See also David Ricks, 'Cavafy the Poet-Historian', *BMGS* 12 (1988) 169-183.

From Villain to Saint and Martyr The Life and After-life of Flavius Artemius, *Dux Aegypti*

SAMUEL N.C. LIEU

1. The cult of Saint Artemius (and of St. Febronia) in Constantinople

The church of St. John the Forerunner in the district known as Oxeia in Constantinople was the centre of a major healing-cult in the sixth and seventh centuries.¹ Beneath the high altar (*MA* 24, p. 33,27), protected from the aisles by railings (27, p. 39,14) and enclosed in a sarcophagus made of lead placed within a crypt, were laid the relics of St. Artemius (33, p. 50,20, 36,30-37,1).² On the right of the altar was the chapel of St. Febronia (22, p. 29,11, 24, p. 33,26-7 etc.).³ This martyr also featured prominently in the cult as she appears to

1. On the cult of Artemius in general see N.H. Baynes, 'Topographica Constantinopolitana', *JHS* 31 (1911) 266-267, M.P. Maas, 'Artemioskult in Constantinopel', *BNJ* 1 (1920) 377-80; Delehay, 'Les recueils antiques de miracles des saints', *AB* 63 (1925) 32-38; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire Byzantin, première partie: Le Siècle de Constantinople et le Patriarcat œcuménique*, III: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris 1953) 58 and 433-434; H.J. Magoulas, 'The lives of the saints as sources of data for the history of Byzantine medicine in the sixth and seventh centuries', *BZ* 57 (1964) 130-143; and P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* (Paris, 1985) 351.

2. A suppliant whom the guards of the week had refused to allow to enter the crypt put down his bed ἐμπροσθεν τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ἔνθα ἡ τροπικὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς δεξιᾶς καταβάσεως . . . (*MA* 17, p. 18, 6-8). The phrase indicates that one went down into the underground church by stairs to the left and right of the altar. The 'going down' to sleep in the tomb (σερός) of the martyr, permitted only on Sundays, is also mentioned in the same miracle account (p. 17,24). Cf. Delehay, *op. cit.* 35.

3. According to legend he was a martyr of Nisibis in the time of Diocletian. Her feast day is celebrated on 25th June. Cf. J. Simon, 'Note sur l'original de la Passion de Sainte Fébronie', *AB* 42 (1924) 69-76. The Latin version of the *acta* of her martyrdom enjoyed considerable circulation in the West. Cf. F. Halkin, 'La Passion grecque des Saintes Libyè, Eutropie et Léonis, martyres à Nisibe', *AB* 76 (1958) 295. On Nisibis as an early centre of Christianity see S.N.C. Lieu, (ed.) *The Emperor Julian, Panegyric and Polemic* (Liverpool 2, 1989) 114, n. 46.

have been a kind of assistant or stand-in for Artemius (ὄπουργος τοῦ ἁγίου, 24, p. 34,27). Her assisting role was a very necessary one as it was to her that the saint entrusted the women who came begging to be cured. This is because Artemius was only invoked in Byzantium by those who were suffering from a particular category of afflictions, viz. hernias, variocoeles and especially tumours affecting the genitalia. Our knowledge of this extraordinary healing-cult is based mainly on a collection of forty-five short accounts of miraculous cures (διήγησις τῶν θαυμάτων τοῦ . . . Ἀρτεμίου).⁴ Apart from about two exceptions, all the accounts of the miraculous cures of Artemius relate to this type of illness which the author describes very simply and unblushingly in a matter-of-fact manner which makes the *Miracula* an interesting and valuable source to historians of Byzantine medicine.⁵

The main collection of *miracula* was compiled between 660-668⁶ by one or more witnesses⁷ who certainly knew the imperial city

4. The collection was published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (see under *MA* in *List of Abbreviations*) according to three manuscripts, no. 1168 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, no. 27 in the archives of the Mar Sabas monastery near Bethlehem and no. 42 in Messina, to which may be added the former Slavonic version of the critical edition of the *Menees* published by the archeographic Commission of St. Petersburg. The forty-five Miracles which make up the main collection are not represented in all the manuscripts and it is not impossible that there were more of them. Cf. Delehay, *op. cit.* 33. There is a Slavonic version of the *MA* but containing only 34 *miracula*. Cf. J. Tolstoi, 'Un poncif aréologique dans les miracles d'Asklepios et d'Artemios', *V* 3 (1926) 53.

5. See esp. Magoulas, *op. cit.* 130-34, 136, 138-39 and 142-43.

6. Many healings of people who were still alive took place in the reign of Heraclius. Miracle 23 ends with this phrase (p. 33,14-16): ταῦτα τῇ νῦν παρελθούσῃ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ γέγονεν ἐπινεμήσει ἔτους πεντακαίδεκάτου τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ μὲν Κωνσταντίνου ἐγγόνου δὲ Ἡρακλείου. The Emperor Constantine, whom it concerns, is usually called Constans (II) (641-668). The fourteenth indiction falls in the year 656. Miracle no. XLI took place (p. 70,2-5): τῷ ὀκτωκαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοσηρίκτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ μὲν Κωνσταντίνου ἐγγόνου δὲ Ἡρακλείου μηνὶ ὀκτωβρίῳ τετάρτῃ, that is to say in 659.

7. Miracle XVII ends with a doxology in the Jerusalem manuscript. Further on, after the XXth, there is yet another. As Delehay (*op. cit.* 33) has rightly remarked, this is a piece of information which must not be overlooked, but which is fairly deceptive. The scribe ends the last Miracle that he transcribed quite naturally with the consecrated phrase, and the doxology might simply indicate an incomplete copy. It is preferable to insist on a more concise edition of the first seventeen Miracles, which contrasts with the verbosity of those that follow.

because the *MA* furnishes us with a host of topographical details not only about the Church of St. John the Forerunner but also its surrounding district.⁸ We learn for instance that the Church itself was situated in Oxeia⁹ in the neighbourhood of the Porticoes of Domninos (4, p. 5,3 εἰς τὴν Ὀξεῖαν πλῆσιον τῶν Δομνίνου ἐμβόλων). It was in a street with private houses as in one of them dwelt Stephen, an official of the Blues and a deacon of the Great Church (i.e. St. Sophia) (20, p. 25,19). The church of Anastasias and the hospice of Christodotes are also found near the Porticoes of Domninos (22, p. 28,12-13). Numerous other churches and monasteries of Constantinople are also mentioned in passing.¹⁰

Every inch of the basilica of St. John the Baptist appears to be familiar to the author(s) of the *Miracula Artemii*. We are told about the exact place occupied by the sick person whose cure is being described: for example, the fourth column of the left-hand portico (22, p. 47, 23). For, as in the churches of SS Cosmas and Damian, incubation was the form of supplication most commonly used at the shrine of Artemius.¹¹ The patients' mattresses were placed in the left-hand portico, between the sacristy (σκευοφυλάκιον) and the narthex (νάρθηξ) (15, p. 15,16). It seems that the suppliants were sometimes packed close together. Our man named Zontos was surrounded by four men suffering from the same illness as he was (30, p. 43,3-4). There were also some cells. Sergia, a distinguished woman, occupied one of them with her sick child (31, p. 4,25). Sometimes there were so many patients that they spilled over into the outbuildings. One named Andrew was carried to the church of St. John the Baptist on the very day of the feast of St. Artemius: his mattress was placed in the baptistery (37, p. 60,10-12). To be able to lie in the immediate vicinity of the remains was a privilege

8. On the *MA* as a source of topographical information, see esp. Baynes, *op. cit. passim*, Maas, *op. cit.* 378-79 and Delehay, *op. cit.* 34-5. For a plan of the church reconstructed from the information provided by the *MA*, see C. Mango, 'On the history of the *Templon* and the *Martyrion* of St. Artemios at Constantinople', *Zōgraf* 10 (1979) 42.

9. i.e. not far from the Grand Bazaar of modern Istanbul. Cf. Mango, *op. cit.* 40.

10. Cf. Baynes, *op. cit.* 266-68 and Delehay, *op. cit.* 34.

11. On the practice of incubation in the *Miracula Artemii* and those of Asclepius, see esp. Tolstoi, *op. cit. passim*.

which was granted only to illustrious suppliants, and this only on Sundays. Sergius, patrician and a distinguished judge was permitted to sleep 'in the holy shrine' (ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ σορῶ) even though it was not yet Sunday but his companion, a scoffer, was only allowed to sleep in the church (17, p. 17,24-18,3).

In common with other similar miracle accounts, a cure was preceded by a vision of the saint, who sometimes showed himself in the form of a senator, sometimes as a patrician or a count, wearing purple and chain-belt (? στιχοβαλτίδιον 6, p. 7,16) or in doctor's clothing (2, p. 3,6-7), mistaken once even for a Persian (!) doctor (22, p. 32,17-18). In one, the miracle appeared in the form of the principal doctor who was on duty at the hospice adjacent to the church (22, p. 30,18-19).¹² Sometimes he also appeared as a friend of the suppliant (22, p. 29,22-23). Like other medical saints, he was known to make daily tours of inspection — he noted the patient's condition and prescribed the remedy (6, p. 7,1-2 etc.). This often took the form of an ointment (κηρωτή) with salt and vinegar or sanctuary oil (3, p. 4,5, 13, p. 13,24-27, 15, p. 16,6-10 etc.).¹³ This was not always applied externally; the patients drank it, and, in the case of one of them, the author of the *MA* could not help crying out: 'What kind of doctor cures hernias by making people swallow oil?' (30, p. 44,14-15). Sometimes the cure was effected simply by the laying on of the healer's hand (12, p. 13,7). Other times he had recourse to a surgical operation (3, p. 4,7-8, with a sword!), in a vision, of course, or trod on the genitalia (14, p. 14,10-11). One one occasion, sheer horror was sufficient to effect the cure: the saint sent his patient to a blacksmith called Theodorus in the Porticoes of Domninos with his assurances that he would be cured by him. The patient obeyed, but the blacksmith declared that he knew nothing about cures. On further orders from the saint, the patient was obliged to return to the blacksmith, who, as a Cilician, it is said, was a very irascible person: he furiously showed him the door. The unfortunate man was sent to him a third time. The exasperated Cilician finally said to him:

12. Cf. Magoulías, *art. cit.* 136.

13. *Ibid.* 143.

'All right then, lie on the anvil.' He lifted his hammer with both hands, but the patient was cured before it fell (26, pp. 36,28-38,21). To a suppliant who had an understandable fear of surgery, the saint appeared in the guise of a butcher, carrying his meat-cutting tools and a bucket of water. He made an incision below the navel, took out the entrails, washed them and gathered them in 'like strings on the lyre' (ὥς χορδία) with the help of a rod (25, pp. 35,12-36-19). The patient woke up from his sleep and found himself cured.¹⁴

The cult was already well established when the *Miracula* were compiled. We learn from them that there was a festival dedicated to the saint as one suppliant arrived in the course of the celebrations. It was also supported by a circle of lay assistants (*philoponoî*) who tended to the patients and also collected money and carried out all the duties necessary to maintain the cult (MA 18, pp. 20-24).¹⁵ Nevertheless, some facts were known about the saint's martyrdom by the seventh century as depictions of his exploits decorated one of the walls of the Church of St. John the Forerunner (MA 34, p. 51,28).

2. The *Artemii Passio*

In a society in which hagiography was an established genre of popular literature, it would be surprising, therefore, for such an important miracle-worker and martyr not to become the subject of pious literary endeavour. However, the main collection of the *Miracula* yields only one significant biographical detail about the saint, viz. Artemius was *Dux* and *Augustales* (δοῦξ καὶ αὐγουστάλιος, MA 17, p.19, 22-23) — the latter appears to be a title of the Prefect of Egypt¹⁶ — and little else, not even the date and place of his martyrdom. A shorter collection of six *miracula*, also published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus,¹⁷ but which yields virtually no clue to its date of compilation, begins with

14. *Ibid.* 139 and Delehay, *op. cit.* 36.

15. Cf. Magoulas, *art. cit.* 133-34.

16. Cf. G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961) 261.

17. *Op. cit.*, 75-79.

a brief *encomium* on the martyr.¹⁸ We learn from this that Artemius was *Dux* and *Augustales* of Alexandria and was honoured by Constantine (*sic*). When Julian the Apostate began to oppress the Christians in Antioch, he went there of his own free will to upbraid the emperor for his misdeeds. For this act of defiance he was subjected to multiple torture to all parts of his body, including being crushed by large boulders. He was finally decapitated. His body was then transferred to Constantinople by a deaconess called Ariste and was placed in the Oxeia.

A much fuller version of the saint's achievements is found in the so-called *Artemii Passio* (hereafter *AP*), a work of uncertain authorship which has come down to us in about twenty manuscripts.¹⁹ This version of the exploits of the saint was also later translated into Armenian, Georgian and Old Church Slavonic.²⁰ Written in an ornate and contrived style, the author sets out to give a version of the life and martyrdom of the saint which is firmly set against the history of the fourth century. For information on the historical background he turned to the now lost *Ecclesiastical History* of the Arian historian Philostorgius, justifying the use of the work of the follower of a well known heretic (Eunomius) on the grounds that the saint occupies a more prominent place in this work than in any other contemporary account (*AP* 4.12-16). The borrowing from Philostorgius is on a massive scale, especially in the earlier sections and in the account of Julian's visit to Antioch, as the author endeavours to give a coherent narrative of the main political events from the death of Constantine the Great to the rise of Julian, and of Julian's attempt to revive paganism during his sojourn in Antioch.

The identity of 'the monk John', the author of the *AP* and his time of writing have long been a source of controversy. We only know that he was called John, and Mai, the editor of the first edition, draws attention to the fact that John of Damascus, the great theologian of

18. 1, p. 76,1-13.

19. Cf. *BHG* 170-171. The edition cited throughout is that of B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, V (Berlin 1988) 185-245.

20. Cf. Bidez, in *GCS Philost.*, p. LXVIII and J. Dummer, 'Fl. Artemius dux Aegypti', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 21 (1971) 121-22, n. 2.

the eighth century who wrote in Greek in Palestine which was then under Arab rule, is sometimes thus titled in the manuscripts of his works. The editor of the text for the *Patrologia Graeca* subsequently included it among the voluminous writings of John of Damascus. Battifol²¹ who first drew attention to the importance of the *AP* as a source for the reconstruction of the lost *Ecclesiastical History* of Philostorgius, gave it a *terminus ante quem* of the reign of Basil I (867-886) on the basis of a notice of the saint in the so-called *Menologion* of Basil. However, this famous specimen of Byzantine hagiographical illustration is now generally held to be a product of the reign of Basil II (976-1025) and the text is largely reproduced from a *synaxarium* of Constantinople. Bidez, who made substantial use of the *AP* for his edition of the text of Philostorgius for GCS, attributed the authorship of the *AP* to a certain John of Rhodes of whom nothing else is known. His attribution is widely adopted as it is in his excellent edition of Philostorgius that most modern scholars encounter the *AP*. However, as Dölger has justifiably pointed out, the name John of Rhodes can be found at the head of only three out of the twenty or so existing manuscripts of the *AP*, whereas five of them name the author as 'the monk John' and in one case 'the sinful monk John'. Thus 'the monk John' or 'John the monk' has as much claim on manuscriptal grounds to the authorship of the *AP* as 'John of Rhodes'. The epithet 'the monk John of Damascus' is found in at least one of the authentic works of John of Damascus and in another work of the same we find him as 'the bishop of Rondines (= Retenes)'. Since John of Damascus flourished at the time of the composition of the *AP* and was a well known hagiographer, and as the *AP* shares the same strong anti-pagan views as expressed in some of his other works, his claim to authorship can not be entirely ruled out. We must however bear in mind that it is generally accepted that the *Lives* of Barlaam and Josaphat, long attributed to John of Damascus, has now been proved to be a product of a monastic community in Constantinople with strong links with Georgia.²² The subject of the *AP* is

21. P. Battifol, 'Fragmente der Kirchengeschichte des Philostorgius', *RQ4* (1889) 3, 252-89 and *idem*, *Quaestiones Philostorgianae* (Paris 1891).

22. D.M. Lang, 'St Euthymius the Georgian and the Barlaam and Josaphat Romance', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17/2 (1965) 306-25.

so strongly linked with Constantinople that it is hard to conceive of the work being composed anywhere except in the imperial city. One also wonders whether someone as concerned with orthodoxy as John of Damascus could bring himself to use as his main historical source for the *AP* the *Ecclesiastical History* of Philostorgius, the admirer of an Arian teacher known for his extreme Anomoean views. The question of the authorship remains wide open and the attribution of it to 'the monk John' (found in one-fifth of the manuscripts) whoever he was, seems to be the only possible compromise.

Bidez also made the important discovery of an earlier version of the martyrdom of Artemius (*BHG* 169y.z) which he published in an appendix to his GCS edition of Philostorgius (pp. 166-175). The uncouth style and simple story-line of this older martyrology points to an early date, probably seventh century,²³ and makes virtually no use of Philostorgius. Its importance lies in the fact that it incorporates a number of basic elements to the legend found in both the accounts of the saint in menologies and in the *AP*. According to this version, Artemius was a *dux*, the reason for his martyrdom was his objection to Julian's ill-treatment of Eugenius and Macarius, two leading figures of the Church in Antioch and he suffered death by being pressed by two heavy rocks. After his martyrdom, his remains were taken to Constantinople by a deaconess called Ariste. The place of his martyrdom was Daphne and his feast day is on the 20th October.

Since the author of the *AP* acknowledges the fact that his was not the first account of the martyrdom of Artemius (*AP* 3.4-7), he is very likely to have used this earlier *exemplum* as the basis of his narrative which he filled out with substantial borrowings from Philostorgius. The *AP* introduces an important new element into the legend, namely the part which the martyr is said to have played in the discovery and transfer of the relics of Andrew, Luke and Timothy from lands beyond the Danube to the Great Church of the Apostles in Constantinople during the reign of Constantius II, and for which he was rewarded with the command in Egypt. The relics of Andrew were of particular

23. Cf. F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958) 229.

importance as the primacy of the patriarchate of Constantinople rests on the legend of the founding of the see by the Apostle Andrew. Artemius' rôle in this is acknowledged in the *Synaxarium* (Sa) of Constantinople but the same notice makes no connection between this Artemius and the martyr whose feast day is celebrated on 20th October.²⁴ An important question is whether the author of the *AP* derived his information on Artemius' rôle in the transfer of the relics of the Apostles from the now lost text of Philostorgius or from a later source. The case against derivation from Philostorgius deserves consideration as Photius, later Patriarch of Constantinople, makes no mention of it in his account of the transfer of the relics in his summary of Philostorgius. It is unlikely that such an important detail concerning the apostolicity of the see of Constantinople would have been deliberately glossed over in his summary, especially as Photius is generally acknowledged as a chief propagator of the Andrew legend — unless he had reasons to obscure the identity of the officer who oversaw the transfer.²⁵ The Artemius cult was certainly well-established in Constantinople by the time of Photius. The *Chronicon Paschale* which recounts the transfer of the relics of the Apostles under Constantius (s.a. 357) also does not mention the involvement of Artemius.²⁶ The brief mention of Artemius in the chronicle of Theophanes (d. 818) is clearly derived from the *Chronicon Paschale* which implies that he was unaware of the *AP* of John. Also in both chronicles, Artemius was executed in Alexandria whereas the scene of Artemius' martyrdom in the *AP* is Daphne, a suburb of Antioch. On the other hand, the *AP* is certainly known to the great Byzantine hagiographer Symeon Metaphrastes (fl. 960) as the account of Artemius given in his *menologion* is largely derived — mostly verbatim from

24. Ed. Delehaye, pp. 148 and 150.

25. Cf. Dvornik, *op. cit.* 244-45.

26. *Chron. Pasch.* p. 542, 14-18. The cult of St. Andrew did not become important in Byzantium until the second half of the seventh century when the legend that the apostle consecrated Stachys, the first bishop of Constantinople, first came to be circulated. Cf. Dvornik, *op. cit.* 57ff. Dvornik, who accepts the historicity of the Constantius date for the transfer of the relics as given in Philostorgius, the *AP* and in other late Byzantine sources, is at a loss to explain why the apostle Andrew was so unimportant in the apostolic 'pecking-order' in the intervening centuries. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 140-46.

the *AP*.²⁷ The second half of the ninth century, therefore, is the most likely date for the composition of the *AP*.

The *AP* is by far the most ambitious surviving hagiographical endeavour to honour the memory of a martyr of the reign of Julian. In length it calls for comparison with the *historia martyrii XV martyrum* of Theophylactus Ochrid (Archbishop from 1088/9).²⁸ But it is unique among Byzantine hagiographical writings on the reign of Julian in its attempt to set the account of martyrdom against a credible (and well-researched) historical background which explains why it is so often cited as a source for the study of the history of the fourth century, especially for the shadowy years between the death of Constantine the Great in 337 and the sole rule of Constantius II (352). After a brief *laudatio* (§§1-2), the author of the *AP* humbly presents to the reader his claim to historical research by giving a list of his sources: Eusebius, Socrates, Philostorgius, Theodoret and many others (§§3-4). Of these, he acknowledges that his debt to Philostorgius is the most extensive as the latter is said to have given a detailed and precise account of the deeds of the martyr. He then informs us that the martyr came from a noble family and was honoured by Constantine, citing Eusebius as his source (§4). These claims, however, cannot be confirmed from the extant works of Eusebius and are likely to be pious attributions. Not to be omitted from one of the most momentous events of the history of the fourth century, the author made Artemius an eyewitness to the conversion of Constantine. In Byzantine lives of Constantine, the events of the reigns of Constantine and Julian were often telescoped in order to provide a starker contrast between the reign of the first Christian Emperor and his apostate successor. Presence at Constantine's vision would have made Artemius at least an octogenarian at the time of his martyrdom and should have therefore been forcibly retired from his prefecture on grounds of age, let alone his zealous exploitation of pagan temples. The same desire to link the events of the two reigns

27. PG 115.1160-1212.

28. PG 126.151-221. For an overall view of this work see D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 71-77.

in hagiography is also found in the *passio* of Eusignius, who, also martyred under Julian, claimed to have taken part in a 'Persian' campaign early in the reign of Constantine and to have rescued the Emperor from certain death. At least one modern scholar has noted that Eusignius could not have been less than 120 years old when he was martyred.²⁹

More likely to be historical is his claim that Artemius was a close friend of Constantius II (§§5 and 9), as it was undoubtedly due to the patronage of the emperor with whom he shared the Arian faith that Artemius secured his appointment as *dux Aegypti*. But in the *AP* it was the part he played in the transfer of the relics of the saints Luke, Andrew and Timothy and his transfer of them to the Church of the Apostles built by Constantius which secured him the command (§§16-18). The events following the death of Constantine, the civil war between Constantine II and Constans and the tyrannical rule of the Caesar Gallus in the East are treated in considerable detail — a reflection, no doubt, of the strength of the lost work of Philostorgius on this period (§§7-15).

Of the martyr's administrative career in Egypt we are told nothing by the *AP* and certainly not anything which could have been inferred from Socrates Scholasticus, one of his alleged sources. The narration focuses instead on the main political events from the death of Gallus to Julian's seizure of power; the death of Constantius and the punishment of the chief officials and supporters of the former emperor, especially those who might have conspired at the removal of his half-brother Gallus are given in detail (§§19-22). Artemius was personally summoned to appear before the new emperor who had meanwhile moved court to Antioch in preparation for his campaign against the Persians. The emperor's uncle Julian, who preceded him to Antioch, had already set in trend the process of revitalising paganism and the persecution of the faithful (§23). Among those who were arrested were two leading members of the church of Antioch, Eugenius and Macarius. They were both tortured and exiled after a lively debate

29. P. Devos, 'Une recension nouvelle de la passion grecque BHG 639 de Saint Eusignios', *AB* 100 (1982) 209-10 (Appendix to R.G. Coquin and E. Lucchesi, 'Une version copte de la passion de Saint Eusignios', *ibid.*, 186-208).

in which the saints ridiculed pagan teaching as espoused by the Neo-Pythagoreans and Hermes Trismegistos (§§25-38). At this juncture Artemius arrived at Antioch, not in chains but in the company of his own *comitatus*. He was instantly arrested and stripped of his insignia. When brought before Julian, he was first offered the opportunity to apostatise with the promise of a Praetorian Prefecture and absolution from guilt of complicity in the execution of the emperor's half-brother Gallus (§40). Julian went on to defend his right to rule on the grounds of his royal lineage, but also condemned Constantine as murderer of his wife Fausta, his illegitimate son (Crispus) and his half-brothers (!) (§§42-44). In reply Artemius defended his own innocence, maintaining that he would not have plotted against Gallus who was a Christian (§44). He also launched into a vehement defence of the integrity of Constantine, and accused Constantius and Constantine's half-brothers of his murder. He then claimed to have taken part in the war between Constantine and Maxentius and witnessed Constantine's famous vision before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (§44) — an event which took place almost half a century before (28 Oct., 312). He rejected out of hand the theosophical arguments which Julian had used to defend his brand of paganism (§47) and urged the Apostate to return to the correct faith (§48). As expected, he was thrown into jail for his defiance (§50). The scene then switches to Daphne, where Julian unsuccessfully tried to revive the famous Oracle of Apollo by removing the bones of the martyr bishop Babylas who was buried in the vicinity. The flames from the sacrifices, however, set the temple alight, causing the permanent destruction of the famous statue of Apollo Musagetes by Bryaxis³⁰ and severe damage to the temple (§§51-56). This account of the incident at Daphne contains so many details which can be corroborated by fourth century sources that it must have been derived verbatim from the lost work of Philostorgius. The need to underscore this episode may well be related to the tradition, well established by the seventh century, that Artemius suffered martyrdom at Daphne. Enraged by the events at Daphne, Julian authorised pagans

30. We know of the name of the sculptor from Cedrenus, *Comp. hist.*, I, p. 536,11 (CSHB).

to enter Christian churches and do what they wanted which led to a number of desecrations (§57). He also commanded Alypius to begin rebuilding Herod's Temple in Jerusalem to disprove the Christian prophecy of its permanent ruin (§58). He then summoned Artemius and placed the blame for the fire on the Christians (§59). To this charge Artemius replied that the fire could only have been divine punishment for the emperor's apostasy. Seeing that Artemius was obviously gloating over his plight, Julian ordered masons and stone-carvers to cut up a large boulder and press Artemius between the two halves (§60). Though the weight of the rock caused his eyes to pop out, Artemius remained alive and even had the strength to proclaim ultimate victory before his persecutor (§§62-3). He was then formally condemned to death by decapitation and one of his final acts was to anathematise the teachings of Arius (§§64-66). After his death, his remains were gathered together by Ariste and transferred to Constantinople. The martyrology ends with a doxology (§67). However, the historical part then resumes in a manner which suggests that the subsequent woes of Julian were a direct result of his treatment of Artemius. The attempt to rebuild the Temple was hampered first by heavy rain and then fire. Earthquakes also struck a number of other cities (§68). The catalogue of woes is climaxed by Julian's ill-fated campaign against the Persians which the author of the *AP* recounts in a style which is standard among the church historians of the fourth and fifth centuries (§69). The narrative goes beyond the death of both Julian and Jovian and to the reigns of Valens and Valentinian. As a final note, the author expresses his regret that Valens was later led astray by the Arians and that Arians like Eunomius (the mentor of Philostorgius!) came to occupy positions of influence (§70).

3. From villain to saint: Flavius Artemius, *dux Aegypti*

The strong anti-Arian flavour of the last sections of the *AP* betrays a major problem concerning the hero of the story because the career of Artemius as reconstructed from fourth and fifth century sources gives little cause for eulogy. The early life of the historical Artemius, *dux Aegypti*, is entirely unknown. The claim in the *AP* and in later

sources that he was descended from a noble family is uncorroborated. Our oldest and most certain evidence of his rôle as *dux Aegypti* is a record, on papyrus, of the minutes of a report made to the Oxyrhynchite senate by Eutrygius, formerly a *logistes*, concerning the payment of certain recruits. The *dux*, or commander-in-chief, on visiting the city, had received a complaint from these recruits that they had not had their dues. This short document (*POxy.* 1103) reads:

‘The year after the consulship of Flavius Eusebius and Flavius Hypatius the most illustrious, Mecheir 17 (=A.D. 360). At a meeting of the senate, the prytanis being Asclepiades son of Achilleus, ex-gymnasiarch and senator, Eutrygius, ex-logistes, said: His highness my lord the most illustrious dux, Flavius Artemius, having auspiciously made a visit here, we advised his excellency that the new levies raised by us for military service had falsely represented themselves as not having received the sum agreed upon with them, and that we had previously paid them not only the amount fixed upon by the treasury but a further consideration; and his highness accepted [this statement]’. (trans. Hunt, p. 173)

A *terminus post quem* for his accession to office in Egypt is fixed by the *Historia Acephala* — an epitome of events in Alexandria — which indicates that his predecessor was still in office on 24 December, 358, as it was on that day that Sebastianus evicted by force those who opposed the Arian faith of Constantius from their churches and handed the buildings over to George the Arian Bishop of Alexandria (2,3 edd. Martin and Albert, p. 146 and §6, *PG* 26.1445A). It has been suggested by Bidez (*GCS Philost.*, p. LVII) that it was in response to the request of the Arianising bishops who gathered at Nicea in 359 in connection with the Synod of Ariminum and Seleucia that Constantius appointed Artemius as *dux Aegypti*. There is every reason to believe the *AP* that Artemius was closely associated with Constantius and would have shared his imperial patron’s pro-Arian views.

Like his predecessor Sebastianus who was a devout Arian, Artemius inevitably became embroiled in the turbulent ecclesiastical scene of Alexandria. One of his first tasks known to us was the enforcement of the order of Constantius to expel Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria. His attempts to track down this much exiled champion of the Nicene faith is noted in the index (in Syriac) of the *Festal Letters* of Athanasius:

XXXI (358-9 A.D.) In this year, Easter-day was on xxviii Pharmuthi; ix Kal. Mai; xxi Moon; Epact xviii; Gods vi; Indict. iii; Coss. Constantius Aug. X, Julianus Caesar III; the governor Faustinus, of Chalcedon, Prefect of Egypt. This Prefect and Artemius Dux, having entered a private house and a small cell, in search of Athanasius the Bishop, bitterly tortured Eudaemonius, a perpetual virgin. On this account no [Letter] was written this year. (NPNF, p. 503).³¹

The search also took him to the famous Pachomian monastery at Phbow as recorded in the *Vita Prima Gracea* of Pachomius (§§137-38, pp. 86,10-87,15):³²

And it happened after this, as the holy bishop Athanasius was being sought by the Emperor Constantius at the instigation of the enemies of Christ, the Arians, that a certain general by the name of Artemius received authority and was searching everywhere for him. And as a rumour spread, 'Is he not hiding among the monks of Tabennesi, for he loves them?', the duke sailed up for this purpose. As he was sailing up, it happened by chance that Theodore himself was sailing down to visit the monasteries of the brothers near Hermopolis. As he drew near the upper monastery called Kaior, he saw the duke sailing up; the Lord made him understand what was going to happen and he revealed it to the brothers. The brothers wanted to turn back and arrive before him lest he should trouble the brothers in Phbow, but Abba Theodore told them, 'He for whose sake we have come so long a way to visit His servants is able to take care of this affair without there being any grief.' Having said this, he went on to the monasteries.

When Artemius came to the monastery he ordered the army to keep watch around the monastery by night, armed as during war. He himself sat with his lieutenants within the monastery, outside the *synxis*, having archers standing by him on both sides. Seeing this, the brothers were afraid. But a holy man called Pecos, whom we have mentioned above, exhorted the brothers to keep courage in the Lord. The duke asked through an interpreter, 'Where is your father?' Abba Pecos answered, 'He has gone to the monasteries.' And he said, 'The one who comes after him, where is he?' They showed him Abba Psahref, the Great Steward. And (Artemius) told him privately, 'I have an imperial order against Athanasius the bishop, and he is said to be with you.' Abba Psahref replied, 'He is indeed

31. Cf. Syriac text and French trans. in *Histoire 'Acéphale' et Index syriaque des Lettres Festales d'Athanase d'Alexandrie*, edd. A. Martin and M. Albert (SC 317. Paris 1985) 258-9 (§XXX).

32. The story is also found in the main Bohairic Life of Pachomius ('The Bohairic Life of Pachomius', §185, trans. A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, 1, *The Life of Saint Pachomius and his disciples* [Cistercian Studies XLV. Kalamazoo 1980] 220-24) which implies that it belongs to the earliest written sources on the life of the saint.

our father, but I have never yet seen his face. Still, here is the monastery.' After he had searched and not found him, he said to those in the *synaxis*, 'Come, pray for me.' They said, 'We cannot, because we have a commandment from our father not to pray with anyone who follows the Arians' — for they saw with the duke one of the Arians who was acting as bishop — and they left. So he prayed alone. And as he fell asleep in the *synaxis* by day, he woke up with a bleeding nose and was troubled — we do not know for sure what happened to him — and full of fear, he said, 'When that happened to me in the vision, I hardly escaped death with God's mercy.' Thus he withdrew. When Abba Theodore returned and heard these things, he gave praise to God.³³

George of Cappadocia, a staunch Arian and one-time tutor of the future emperor Julian, was appointed by Constantius to succeed Gregory in 357 but the pro-Nicene bishop Athanasius (consecrated in 328) remained in opposition despite imperial attempts at banning him from his see. It appears that George was only able to impose his authority in Alexandria with military help from the *dux*. Moreover, religious conflict in the Egyptian capital was not limited to opposing factions of the Christian Church. Late in December 362, a rioting mob publicly lynched their unpopular bishop instead of preferring charges against him in court. According to Christian sources (Soc., *h. e.* III,3, see also Soz., *h. e.* V,7,5-7) the event was sparked off by the discovery, on the site of an erstwhile Mithraeum in Alexandria which was being cleared for the building of a church, of a vast *adytum* which yielded a number of human skeletons. The Christians alleged that these had been used for pagan rites and had them exhibited and paraded through the city in a triumphal procession. The pagan populace, who might have heard by then of the death of Constantius and the accession of the pro-pagan Julian, armed themselves and attacked the Christians, causing a considerable number of casualties. George himself was executed with deliberate cruelty. The enthusiasm of the pagan mobs did not, however, win the unreserved approval of the new emperor who was concerned about the deleterious effect which rioting had on civic order. In a letter (or edict) addressed to the Alexandrians, Julian ironically questioned them for their reasons

33. *Vita Prima Graeca* 137-38, ed. F. Halkin, in *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graece* (Brussels 1932) 86,10-87,15, trans. A. Veilleux, 'The First Greek Life', in Veilleux, *op. cit.* 395-97.

for hating George and berated them for not subjecting their complaints against him to the normal course of justice. He mentions in passing the rôle of the *dux Aegypti* in the despoiling of pagan temples, especially that of Serapis, the most sacred shrine in Alexandria:

'For tell me, by Serapis, for what wrongs were you angry with George? Doubtless you will say that he provoked against you the blessed Constantius, then he brought an army into your sacred city, and the military governor (i.e. Artemius) of Egypt seized the god's most holy shrine, after having taken thence statues and votive offerings and the decoration in the temples. And when you reasonably were displeased and attempted to aid the god, rather the god's possessions, he (i.e. Artemius) dared to dispatch soldiers against you unjustly and unlawfully and sacrilegiously, probably having feared George more than Constantius, who was observing him narrowly, to see if he should behave too moderately and too civilly toward you, but not rather too tyrannically.'³⁴

Charges of maladministration were duly brought against Artemius and in the winter of 362, Julian, who had seized the reins of imperial government in Constantinople after the timely death of his cousin Constantius II, ordered his execution. We owe our knowledge of this mainly to a passing reference in the *res gestae* of Ammianus. After informing us of the execution of Gaudentius who had earlier been sent by Constantius to prevent Africa from falling to Julian,³⁵ the historian says (XXII,11,2):

Then Artemius, who was formerly *dux* of Egypt and was charged by the Alexandrians for a mass of atrocities, paid the supreme penalty.

Ammianus then goes on to say that the Alexandrians rioted after they had heard about the death of their hated military commander and it was in the course of these riots that Bishop George was lynched (XXII,11,3-11). Since the generally accepted date of the death of George is the 24th Dec., 362 (*Hist. Aceph.*, 2,9, p. 148, §8 PG 26.1445C), the inclusion by Ammianus of the account of the disturbance among the events which took place after Julian had moved his court

34. Cf. Julian, ep. 10, = Soc., *HE* III,3,10, trans. R.P. Coleman-Norton, in *Roman State and Christian Church*, 3 vols. (London 1966) 1 270-1.

35. Cf. Lieu, *op. cit.*, 25, n. 46.

to Antioch seems oddly out of place. Ammianus does not mention the place of his execution, but since Gaudentius was brought back to Antioch in chains (XXII,11,1), we may assume that the same fate befell Artemius, although we cannot rule out Egypt as his place of execution. In the following century, the death of Artemius is referred to only once, in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodoret (III,18,1, GCS):

Artemius was commander of the troops in Egypt. He had obtained this command in the time of Constantine (*sic*), and had destroyed a great many of the idols. For this Julian not only confiscated his property but ordered him to be decapitated.³⁶

This reference to Artemius in the work of a pro-Nicene church historian is highly significant. One can surmise from it that the execution by Julian of Artemius as a zealous enemy of paganism had elevated the victim to the ranks of those who suffered martyrdom under Julian, and his Arianism and his rôle as the 'hatchet-man' of the hated George of Cappadocia had, by the fifth century, been conveniently obscured. This transition to martyr might have taken place first under the reign of the pro-Arian Valens, as it would have been hard to conceive of such a transformation under the more orthodox-minded Theodosius.³⁷ A Church of Artemius (rather than that of John the Forerunner) was built, according to a seventh century source the *Patria Constantinopolitana of the illustris* Hesychius of Miletos (revised in the 10th C.), by the emperor Anastasius (491-598).³⁸ Since the cult of Artemius was already well established by the time of the compilation of the *Miracula Artemii* with a fixed date in the calendar for the saint's festival (*MA* 37, p. 60,10-11) and an organised association of lay helpers, a sixth-century date for the foundation of

36. III,18,1 (GCS).

37. See the excellent discussion in C. Brennecke, *Studien zur Geschichte der Homoëren* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie. Tübingen 1988) 129.

38. III,51, pp. 235,21-236,2: 'St. Artemios at Oxeia: The church of the Baptist was built by Anastasios Dikoros, the former *silentarios*, the one from Dyrrhachium, for while he was *protoasekretis* he used to live there. After the relic of St. Artemios had been brought, the church took his name.' (trans. Mango, *op. cit.* 41).

the church is entirely appropriate. The same source gives one of the earliest acknowledgements of the rôle of an Artemius in the transfer of the relics of the Apostles to the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople (IV,32, p. 288,6-7). Once his rôle as the conveyor of the relics was generally accepted, his status as a 'megalomartyr' was assured. The *AP* curiously gives no hint as to the depositing of the relics in a church by Ariste. This obvious gap in the account of the saint's life was filled in the *menologion* of Simeon Metaphrastes, which says that despite much valiant effort, she did not succeed in building a church and the relics had therefore remained until now (i.e. 10th C.) in the Church of St. John the Forerunner.³⁹ From what is known about the layout of the church from the *Miracula Artemii*, it was built as a martyr church as it would have been difficult to add a crypt to a church which had not been planned for it. The saint was said to have lain in a full sized lead coffin (*MA* 33, p. 50,20 and 34, p. 52,29) which, according to Mango, suggests a Late Roman date as 'lead coffins were more typical of antiquity than of the Byzantine period'.⁴⁰

The veneration of Artemius appears to have reached its peak of popularity in the seventh and eighth centuries, as we hear no more of the *martyrion* of Artemius used as a centre of healing after the Iconoclast Controversy.⁴¹ Despite its importance in Constantinople, the cult remained, however, a largely metropolitan affair. We have one sole piece of evidence of the cult of Artemius spreading to Asia Minor, as his name is found in a list of saints whose relics were venerated in a monastery in Rhaidestos (Ligda) founded by Michael Attaliates (11th C.) as recorded in his *Diataxis* (1077).⁴² But since the main monastery founded by Michael Attaliates was in Constantinople, the veneration of a saint of the imperial capital in an outpost of Constantinopolitan monasticism is not at all surprising. The last attestation of the saint's relics is to be found in the account

39. *PG* 115.1212A.

40. Mango, *op. cit.* 42.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

42. Cf. N.A. Bees, 'Weiteres zum Kult des hl. Artemios', *BNJ* 1 (1920) 384-85.

of a visit to Constantinople by an English pilgrim in the eleventh century, who noted that the head of the decapitated martyr had been separated from the rest of his relics.⁴³ In the West, Artemius did not find a place in the Roman Martyrology until the time of Baronius, which means that he was almost entirely unknown to Latin Christendom throughout the Middle Ages as a saint and martyr. Soon after he was introduced into the calendar of saints, his credentials were questioned by a number of scholars who were aware of his Arian past. Even Battifol, the first modern scholar to study the *AP* critically, surmised that there were originally two Artemii, one an Antiochene martyr and the other the *dux Aegypti* and conveyor of the relics of the Apostles, and at some point, the two traditions became merged.⁴⁴ This may not seem too far fetched as Artemius was not altogether an uncommon name. The *vicarius urbis Romae* in the year 359 according to Ammianus (XVII, 11, 5) was also called Artemius but of whom nothing else is known.⁴⁵ The conflicting traditions concerning Artemius the martyr are also reflected in the artistic representation of the saint. He is sometimes portrayed as a noble martyr with a short dark beard like that of Christ. A relief of him in this style was found in an underground chapel of the present Armenian church of the Archangel Michael in Istanbul on the rear wall of a fountain.⁴⁶ His military background as *dux et Augustailes* also gave rise to his being depicted as a military saint in the mode of St. Mercurius and Niketas the Goth.⁴⁷ The pairing of Artemius

43. K.N. Ciggar, 'Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais', *REB* 34 (1976) 259, §36: Et in ipsa parte est ecclesia sancti Iohannis Baptiste et in hac ecclesia est caput sancti Artemii martiris et reliquiae eius. Hic sanctus Artemius erat dux et nobilissimus homo et misit eum Constantius filius sancti Constantini et adduxit de Patris corpus sancti Andreae apostoli, de Thebis sanctum Lucam euangelistam et de Epheso sanctum Timotheum discipulum sancti Pauli apostoli. Hunc martirizavit Iulianus Apostata. Cf. Mango, *op. cit.* 41, n. 15.

44. P. Battifol, 'Fragmente der Kirchengeschichte des Philostorgius', *Römische Quartalschrift* 3 (1889) 253-55. See however the cogent counter-arguments of Bidez, *GCS Philost.*, pp. LVI-LVII.

45. Cf. *PLRE*, I, Artemius 1.

46. See K. Lehmann, 'Ein Reliefbild des heiligen Artemios in Konstantinopel', *BNJ* 1 (1920) 382-84.

47. Cf. Khazdan and Ševčenko, 'Artemios', *ODB*, 195.

and Mercurius is also found in a Greek version of a legend concerning the death of Julian the Apostate preserved in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Nicephorus Callistus (X,35, PG 96.552).⁴⁸ However, if a separate tradition of Artemius as someone other than the detested Arian *dux Aegypti* had existed, the Byzantine hagiographers would have almost certainly exploited it. But because no such escape route was possible, the Byzantine author of a *vita* on Artemius had to face the uncomfortable fact that any serious research on the origin of the saint would inevitably end up in the murky waters of the Arianising period of the Constantinian dynasty. The author of the *AP* thus had to whitewash on a large scale to produce a laudatory life of the saint, and the product is an alternative history of the period from Constantine to Julian based on the lost Arianising historian Philostorgius and for this we could not but be thankful. The need for a pseudo-historical life of Artemius in Constantinople was brought about by the shortage of genuine or well documented martyrs *sub Juliano*. The Apostate knew too well that what would ultimately undermine the Christian Church's resistance to his attempt to revive paganism was not renewed imperial persecution but the subtle encouragement of internal division.

Abbreviations

- AP* *Artemii passio*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, V. (Berlin, 1988) 185-245.
- MA* *Miracula Artemii*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra* in Zapiski istoriko-philologicheskago Phakul'teta imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta, Chast XCV (St. Petersburg, 1909) 1-79.
- NPNF* The Writings of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (New York, 1887-92 and Oxford, 1890-1900).
- ODB* *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991).

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48. Cf. N.H. Baynes, 'The death of Julian the Apostate in a Christian legend', *JRS* 27 (1937) 27.

Kazantzakis' religious vision

PETER BIEN

I

Although Kazantzakis had a profound religious vision that may even be compatible in some ways with Christianity, he makes certain Christians extraordinarily angry. The most recent incident involved Martin Scorsese's 1988 film of *The Last Temptation*. Rev. Bill Bright of the Campus Crusade for Christ offered to buy the master print of the film for \$10,000,000 so that he could burn it.¹ When the distributor refused and the film opened, a moviegoer attempting to see the picture in New York City had to run a gauntlet of Catholic monks on their knees praying for his soul and Protestant fundamentalists haranguing him about damnation, for which he would surely qualify if he merely entered the theatre. But this was only the most recent incident. In the 1950s the same novel, plus some pages of *Kapetan Mihális*, inspired the Greek Orthodox Church to prosecute Kazantzakis and attempt to excommunicate him. Kazantzakis responded: 'You gave me your curse, holy Fathers. I give you a blessing: May your conscience be as clear as mine, and may you be as moral and religious as I am.'² The same novel was placed on the Vatican's Index of Forbidden Books. And when it appeared in

1. See Peter Bien, 'Scorsese's Spiritual Jesus', *The New York Times*, 11 August 1988, p.A25. Further details of the extensive campaign against the film are given in Les Keyser, *Martin Scorsese* (New York 1992) 185-6. For example: 'By August 1988 almost 8,000 pickets had formed around the [Universal] studio offices, security measures were instituted, and bodyguards were accompanying even minor Universal executives. . . . Reverend Donald Wildmon of the American Family Association, which garnered 60,000 new members during its campaign against *The Last Temptation of Christ*, picketed Lew Wasserman's home, preaching loudly on the doorstep of the Jewish chairman of MCA, Universal's parent corporation. . . . Wildmon . . . [demanded] to know "How many Christians are there in the top positions of MCA/Universal? . . ."' Mother Angelica, founder of the Christian Eternal Word network . . . opined [on CNN] that this "movie will destroy Christianity." On 9 August 1988 the U.S. Catholic Conference called for a nationwide boycott of the film, the first such boycott the conference had ever recommended.'

2. Pandelis Prevelakis, *Τετρακόσια γράμματα του Καζαντζάκη στον Πρεβελάκη* (Athens 1965) 669.

the United States in 1960, it moved Protestant fundamentalists in California to insist that it be removed from libraries — a tactic that turned the book into a best seller. But the Greek Orthodox Church's opposition goes back much further. Bishop Athanasios of Syros, in a memorandum to the Church's Synod in 1928, condemned Kazantzakis' major philosophical work, *Askitikí*, plus some journalistic articles, as anti-religious, quoting — as did Bill Bright — isolated passages out of context, for example: 'God . . . is not the kindly family-man [οικογενειάρχης] we thought. He is cruel, he does not care about individuals.'³ And when Kazantzakis dared in the same year in a public lecture in Athens to suggest that if we want to understand what faith is we should look to Russia rather than the Church, he was subpoenaed by the public prosecutor for insulting the state and disturbing civil tranquility.

Of course, Kazantzakis was not entirely innocent. In 1925 he engaged in an extended controversy in an Iraklion newspaper in which he debated with a defender of Christianity, writing things like this: 'Whoever struggles today to convince the bourgeoisie to return to Christian morality is nothing but a naïve dreamer,'⁴ or like this: 'You say that we should return to the great principles of Christianity and base our entire social existence on the maxim of the great Chinese philosopher of practicality, Confucius: "Do not do unto others what you would not have others do unto you."' Unfortunately, this maxim goes against life's essence.'⁵ In other ways, too, he went out of his way to provoke the opposition, as for example when he playfully intoned Δόξα τῷ μὴ ὑπάρχοντι Θεῷ⁶ or when he routinely

3. Bishop Athanasios of Syros, 'Υπόμνημα του Σεβ. Μητροπολίτου Σύρου προς την Ι. Σύνοδον της Εκκλησίας', *Εκκλησία*, 17 March 1928, 84; cited in Peter Bien, *Kazantzakis: Politics of the Spirit* (Princeton 1989) 111-12.

4. 'Το κοινωνικόν πρόβλημα', *Νέα Εφημερίς* (Iraklion), 19 February 1925, 1; cited in Bien, *Politics of the Spirit*, 93-94.

5. 'Το κοινωνικόν πρόβλημα' [continued], *Νέα Εφημερίς* (Iraklion), 22 February 1925, 1; cited in Bien, *Politics of the Spirit*, 95; reprinted in Kyriakos Mitsotakis, *Ο Καζαντζάκης μιλεί για Θεό* (Athens 1972) 126ff.

6. [Letter to Νίκος Βέης] *Nea Estia* 74 (15 November 1963) 1689-90.

placed the word God in quotation marks in formulas such as 'Ο "Θεός" μαζί Σας'.⁷

Kazantzakis was not a Christian; he lost his faith when he learnt about Darwinism in high school. Yet he was clearly a religious person, a believer in God despite his denials. Another way of saying this is to describe him as a true witness, by which I mean someone who acts in a fashion that makes no sense at all if God does not exist.

Let me attempt now to define the term 'religious person'. Such a person (a) views his or her existence in the widest possible context, based on cosmological knowledge, (b) adds faith⁸ to this knowledge, (c) expresses his religious vision by means of symbols that, taken together, form a myth. If we consider these three attributes more or less in the reverse order, we arrive at the brilliant definition of religion formulated by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz: '(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.'⁹

Each of the three attributes — knowledge, faith, and myth — needs to be discussed further. When we say that a religious person views existence in the widest possible context based on cosmological knowledge, we mean that such a person purports to know the truth about existence. I noted earlier that Kazantzakis' Orthodox faith was destroyed by Darwinism, which rendered no longer acceptable the cosmological explanation taught by Christianity — that the world was created in six days, with each of its creatures fully formed from the start. Equally unacceptable were the ideas that nature is benign and ordered, that human beings are at its centre, and that God is complete and perfect. All this, Kazantzakis came to believe, was contrary to

7. Compare 'Να δώσει ο "Θεός" το 1942 μας να 'ναι γιομάτο πράξη. . . ' at the end of a letter to Angelos Sikelianos, 24 December 1941 (Eleni N. Kazantzaki, *Νίκος Καζαντζάκης ο ασυμβίβαστος* [Athens: Eleni N. Kazantzakis, 1977] 471; Helen Kazantzakis, *Nikos Kazantzakis: A Biography Based on His Letters* [New York 1968] 403).

8. Faith, it should be remembered, is not the absence of doubt but the will to believe despite the presence of doubt.

9. Clifford Geertz, 'Religion as a Cultural System', in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. Michael Parker Banton, 1-46 (New York 1966) 4.

science, which teaches that nature is fierce and chaotic, that human beings are merely one species among countless others, and — most importantly — that nothing is complete, not even God, since everything continually evolves.

Yet even these new explanations proposed by the Darwinian conception of a general order of existence were not sufficiently satisfying for Kazantzakis. Like all religious people, he needed to feel that his particular life was made meaningful by the cosmological context in which it resided, and, for this to happen, he needed to believe that the context was ordered. So, Kazantzakis eventually subscribed to a system, still based on evolution, that saw evolution not as chaotic but as a logical progression from stability to motion, imprisonment to freedom, matter to spirit. He discovered this system in Paris in 1908 when he was twenty-five years old. A letter he wrote at that time shows how irrepressibly religious he was:

At present I am studying philosophy and literature at the Sorbonne, the Collège de France, and the École des Hautes Études.

I want to formulate an individual, personal conception of life, a theory of the world and of human destiny, and then, in accord with this, systematically and with a specific purpose and programme, to write — whatever I write.

Fortunately I am auditing the celebrated psychologist Bergson here and I feel that I am not wasting my time.¹⁰

The cosmological knowledge that Kazantzakis discovered in Paris in 1908 was Henri Bergson's 'vitalism'. Amalgamated with Nietzschean iconoclasm and a Buddhist sense of life as a phantasmagoria of nothingness, this served him well for the rest of his life as the basis of his religiosity. Bergson's system posits as the 'creator' not an immutable God but an *élan vital* that is merely a potentiality needing to be realised through an evolutionary process. 'God', for Kazantzakis is the entire evolutionary process that moves from stability to motion, imprisonment to freedom, matter to spirit — moves, in other words, (1) from pure, disembodied *élan vital*,

10. Petros Markakis, 'Ανέκδοτα γράμματα του Νίκου Καζαντάκη: το περιοδικό "Πινakoθήκη" κι ο Δημ. Καλογερόπουλος', *Καινούρια Εποχή* (Autumn 1959) 35.

(2) through successive embodiment in minerals, vegetables, animals, and humanity, then (3) back again to pure, disembodied *élan vital*, whence (4) the cycle begins anew. In Bergson's brilliant phrase, the cosmological context in which we exist is, therefore, 'a creative action that unmakes itself.'¹¹

These symbols established a powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting motivation in Kazantzakis, teaching him how to behave as a religious person — how to 'imitate God'. For Kazantzakis, however, to imitate God meant to co-operate with the cosmological process of material evolution that advances towards motion, freedom, and spirit. Gone is Christianity's admonition to escape the flesh; instead, Kazantzakis' system urges us to use the flesh in order to refine it, so that we, too, like the context in which we exist, may be a creative action that unmakes itself, and may thereby help Not-almighty God to evolve.

All this appealed to Kazantzakis first of all because it is a system based on evolutionary process and therefore is consistent with Darwinism, secondly because it gives meaning to our lives by challenging us to achieve salvation not only for ourselves and all of humanity but also for God.

I have expanded, so far, on the first of the characteristics that make a person religious: that person's ability, owing to cosmological knowledge, to place his existence in the widest possible context. But cosmological knowledge can never be complete; thus we must move to the second characteristic defining a religious person: the addition of faith to knowledge. This was particularly necessary in Kazantzakis' case since his 'knowledge' posited an evolution whose most general

11. Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution* (London 1911) 261. Bergson's *élan vital* wills to become alive. In order to become alive, it must collaborate with matter. But matter is not anything separate. Life, Bergson writes, is the vital current 'loaded with matter, that is, with congealed parts of its own substance' (252). Once the life force has created life, it tends to divest itself of its congealments in order to return to pure energy. Rocks evolve successively into plants, animals, and humans; sensation develops into instinct, intelligence, and finally self-consciousness. But then change moves towards inertness, heterogeneity towards homogeneity. This, rather than negating the life force's original 'desire', leads to a consummation that the life force itself brings about. Both life and death are willed by the same 'god'. Death is life's crown because the sloughing off of matter releases the primal force from the weight of its own heterogeneous congealments, enabling its vitality to be unencumbered once again in its will to become alive. Annihilation equals fulfilment in this creative action that unmakes itself.

direction is 'known' but whose particular steps within that generality cannot be known or predicted.

Kazantzakis' faith was unshakably optimistic — he felt that, despite everything, spirit would triumph. This is of course precisely what Christians believe, and Kazantzakis' major symbols for his own non-Christian (or 'meta-Christian') faith were the Christian ones of resurrection and the Second Coming. Thus, for example, at the end of *The Last Temptation*, when the dying Christ utters 'It is accomplished' (τετέλεσται [John 19.:30]), Kazantzakis concludes, 'And it was as though he had said: Everything has begun.' Similarly, at the end of the cruelly pessimistic novel *Christ Recrucified*, when the refugees have buried the Christ-figure who has been crucified by those who oppose motion, freedom, and spirit — that is, by those who retard the *élan vital*'s evolution — nevertheless the refugees keep moving, led by the irrepressible Papa-Fotis, this being Kazantzakis' way of expressing his faith that, contrary to all evidence, the spirit will triumph. Kazantzakis could never have composed the famous poem on the Second Coming written by William Butler Yeats in 1919 (I cite just a few of its lines):

.....
 Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world

 The best lack all conviction, while the worst
 Are full of passionate intensity.

 Surely the Second Coming is at hand.

 . . . what rough beast, its hour come round at last,
 Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

Kazantzakis was never so thoroughlygoingly pessimistic or cynical. Instead, even at a time when he felt, like Yeats, that anarchy had been loosed upon the world and was therefore impelled to write to a friend, 'One has got to be or become a hero to endure this vile, corrupt world,' he was able to continue: 'Yet at the bottom of this corruption there is a pure, virgin soul that is sprouting, holding up its head, feeding on this corruption, and that, one day several eons after us, will triumph. A Messiah is always on the march.'¹²

12. Eleni N. Kazantzaki, *Le dissident: biographie de Nikos Kazantzaki* (Paris 1968) 504; Helen Kazantzakis, *Biography*, 496; letter of 23 March 1951.

Like orthodox Christians, Kazantzakis possessed an unshakeable faith that the good is ultimately going to triumph. This is the second of the three characteristics that I applied at the start to persons with a religious vision. The third of these characteristics derives from the first two, since it responds to the difficulty that neither cosmological knowledge nor faith can be adequately expressed 'scientifically'. Therefore, they must be expressed by means of a system of symbols that, taken together, form a myth. Kazantzakis did this very consciously. He once wrote, speaking about the Golden Age of Greece, that the great artist

looks beneath the flux of everyday reality and sees eternal, unchanging symbols. Behind the spasmodic, frequently inconsistent activities of living people, he plainly distinguishes the great currents that sweep away the human soul. He takes ephemeral events and relocates them in an undying atmosphere. . . . This is why . . . all the great artists of classical Greece . . . relocated history in the . . . symbolic atmosphere of myth.¹³

We already saw that at age twenty-five Kazantzakis set out to formulate 'a theory of the world and of human destiny' — i.e., a vision precisely of the great currents that sweep away the human soul, so that, in accord with that vision, he might 'systematically and with a specific purpose and programme, . . . write.' What this meant for the rest of his career was a series of mythic depictions of heroes co-operating with the cosmological process of evolution that, via a materiality that is unmade, progresses towards motion, freedom, and spirit — or, to use Kazantzakis' favourite metaphor, heroes who transubstantiate flesh into spirit (note that Kazantzakis uses a Christian term here: μεταουσώνω, to convert bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ during the Eucharist).

Bergson taught Kazantzakis that the *élan vital* first clothes itself in flesh and then divests itself. Accordingly, Kazantzakis' ideal mythic figure for the first phase of this cosmological process is the hero Odysseus, while his ideal mythic figure for the second phase is the saint Jesus Christ. But the Odysseus-figure can be transformed into a Zorba or a Kapetán Mihális, the Christ-figure into a Francis of

13. Nikos Kazantzakis, *Report to Greco* (New York 1965) 173.

Assisi or a Manoliós (in *Christ Recrucified*). Sometimes the Kazantzakian protagonist is both hero and saint; if he is only one of the pair, then he is normally coupled with an opposite who complements him. Thus Zorba, who co-operates with the universal process by transubstantiating business ventures into laughter and dance, is paired with the Boss, who craves complete divestment of the flesh but fails to realise that, in Kazantzakis' Bergsonian system, this can take place only after indulgence in the flesh. Similarly, Jesus in *The Last Temptation* is paired with Judas, who transubstantiates bodily indulgence into political idealism and action. In *Christ Recrucified*, Jesus' witness (acting in a fashion that makes no sense at all if God does not exist) is projected onto two characters, Manoliós (Emmanuel), who is divested of flesh by being crucified, and Fotis (= Light), who transubstantiates the status quo into revolutionary action, the former being a saint, the latter a hero. But the most complete characters in Kazantzakis' *oeuvre* are those who combine both the first and second phases of the cosmological process. The completest of all is the hero/saint Odysseás in Kazantzakis' huge *Odyssey*. This epic hero starts as a true Odysseus but ends as an ascetic contemplator and artist. Other examples occur in Kazantzakis' plays: Julian the Apostate, the emperor attracted by both Christianity and paganism; Nikiforos Fokas, the warrior-emperor who ended his life as a monk on Mount Athos; and Count Capodistrias, the tsar's foreign minister who became Greece's first president and is depicted by Kazantzakis as evolving beyond political action to a self-willed assassination in the interests of an ideal state of the spirit in which brother will be reconciled with brother.

So, in accord with his religious vision, Kazantzakis relocates history in the symbolic atmosphere of myth in ways meant to evoke not just the flux of everyday reality but also the great currents that sweep away the human soul. His faith is that behind the spasmodic, frequently inconsistent activities of living people a single impulse is at work: the effort of heroes, saints, and hero/saints to save God by imitating God, in order to spur the cosmos's evolution forward just a little faster.

II

I trust I have demonstrated that Kazantzakis was indeed a person

with a religious vision, at least in so far as we define such a person as one who views existence in the widest possible context based on cosmological knowledge, who adds faith to that knowledge, and who expresses both knowledge and faith through symbols forming a myth. Another way of saying this is: I trust I have demonstrated that Kazantzakis clearly believed in God even though he placed quotation marks around that word that, after all, is merely a symbolic way of expressing our understanding of a meaningful cosmological context. Lastly, I trust I have demonstrated that Kazantzakis gave witness to this belief over and over again throughout his fifty-year career by acting and writing in a way that makes no sense at all if the God in which he placed his faith does not exist.

Thus we really must wonder why he causes Christians to become so angry. Shouldn't Christians be angrier at someone with no religious vision at all than at someone so clearly and deeply religious who, furthermore, views Jesus Christ as the quintessential religious figure for today and struggles to make all of us confront, once again, the implications for our own lives of Christ's witness?

Let me try now to explain, through recapitulation and expansion, the basic quarrel between Kazantzakis and traditional Christianity, before ending with an attempt to show how his seemingly unorthodox religious vision may actually be compatible in some ways with Christianity.

The basic quarrel between Kazantzakis and traditional Christianity is centred in the problem of process. Needing to base his religiosity on scientific truth — the fact of evolution — Kazantzakis extends the evolutionary process beyond the created world to God himself: to the very nature of Being. Against him stands the central tenet of traditional Christianity, derived chiefly from Saint Augustine, that God is not subject to evolutionary process but, rather, is 'eternal, immutable . . .'¹⁴ Kazantzakis infuriates Christians because he proclaims as blatantly as possible, 'Our God is not almighty, he is not all-holy. . . . The essence of our God is obscure. It ripens

14. John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love* (London ²1977) 43-4.

continuously,'¹⁵ or 'I believe in one God, . . . of mighty but not of omnipotent powers.'¹⁶ Since this is the case, Kazantzakis' still-ripening God calls out 'to people, to animals, to plants, to matter: "Save me!"'.¹⁷ And we, loving our bodies, because it is only with our bodies that we may fight on this earth and turn matter into spirit, follow God's command so that 'the enterprise of the Universe, for an ephemeral moment, . . . [may become our] own enterprise.'¹⁸

This is obviously very far from Augustinian Christianity, which stresses the immutable, unevolving perfection of a God who certainly does not need to be saved by his creatures, since Augustinian Christianity does not view the universe as an enterprise in development but rather as one created perfect and complete, although marred afterward by mankind's wilful misuse of its God-given freedom.¹⁹

We should realise that each of these views, the Kazantzakian and the Augustinian, is a theodicy: a justification of divine providence through an attempt to reconcile the existence of evil with the goodness and sovereignty of God — or, as John Milton puts it in the prologue to *Paradise Lost*, an attempt to 'assert Eternal Providence, / And justify the ways of God to men.' The difference, I repeat, is centred in the problem of process, which in Kazantzakis' theodicy is extended to Being itself (which of course must now be considered also as Becoming). Both views do assert eternal providence — that is, see the universe as essentially spiritual — but for Kazantzakis the underlying spirituality (God) will triumph only by feeding on the corruption of materiality²⁰ — in other words, only by participating

15. Nikos Kazantzakis, *The Saviors of God: Spiritual Exercises* (New York 1960) 116; *Ασκητική: Salvatores Dei*. (Athens 1962) 81. Compare Teilhard de Chardin: 'One after the other all the fields of human knowledge have been shaken and carried away . . . in the direction of the study of some *development*. Is evolution a theory, a system or a hypothesis? It is much more: it is a general condition to which all theories, all hypotheses, all systems must bow and which they must satisfy henceforward if they are to be thinkable and true' (Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man* [New York 1961] 217-8).

16. *Saviors of God*, 130. 'Πιστεύω σ' ένα Θεό, . . . μεγαλοδύναμο, όχι παντοδύναμο' (*Askitikí*, 94).

17. *Saviors of God*, 118; *Askitikí*, 83.

18. *Saviors of God*, 118; *Askitikí*, 83-4.

19. See Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 236.

20. One of his favourite metaphors for this is the beautiful flower that grows most luxuriantly on top of a pile of dung.

in the evolutionary processes of the created world²¹ — whereas for Augustinian Christianity the underlying spirituality, never degraded by the degradation of the material world, will triumph by justly punishing the wicked and justly rewarding the righteous. Another way of understanding the difference is to remember Kazantzakis' claim that a messiah is always on the march, which implies that God, struggling to overcome *divine* imperfection, must continually attempt to set things right. This is obviously in contrast to traditional Christianity's doctrine of the one-and-only Messiah who set up a definitive mechanism for rewarding the righteous. Once again, a process theodicy is contrasted to a non-process one; a world-view that is based on evolution is contrasted to a world-view that is not.

In the foregoing elaboration of the basic quarrel between Kazantzakis and Christianity, I have been careful to speak of the dominant stream of Christianity, the Augustinian one. But Christianity is bigger than even Saint Augustine; it contains non-dominant streams, and at least one of these may be compatible in some interesting ways with Kazantzakian heterodoxy. The secondary stream I wish to offer as a contrast to the Augustinian is the Irenaean, named for Irenaeus (c. 130-c. 202), Bishop of Lyons. Of course, Irenaean Christianity does not go so far as Kazantzakis — it does not call God imperfect and in need of salvation — but it does, like Kazantzakis, emphasise process. Instead of presenting the fall of Adam as 'an utterly malignant and catastrophic event,' as does the Augustinian tradition, the Irenaean pictures it as 'something that occurred in the childhood of the race, an understandable lapse due to weakness and immaturity. . . . And instead of the Augustinian view of life's trials as a divine punishment for Adam's sin, Irenaeus sees our world of mingled good and evil as a divinely appointed environment for man's development towards the perfection that represents the fulfilment of God's good purpose for him.'²² 'The Irenaean type of theodicy is eschatological; it finds

21. This is basically what was denied by those who objected to Scorsese's film of *The Last Temptation*. In Kazantzakis' view, Jesus was truly tempted, feeling sexual urges, etc., but overcoming them. The opposition could not admit this degree of participation in worldliness by a being they considered perfect.

22. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 214-5.

the justification for the existence of evil in an infinite (because eternal) good which God is bringing out of the temporal process.'²³

Building on Irenaeus' developmental emphasis, a branch of modern theology known as process-relational theism tends to think of God, too, as in process. Indeed, one contemporary theologian has claimed that there is 'hardly a conception of God from Hegel onward that is not dynamic, changing, and in some manner intrinsically related to the world of change. . . . God thus shares in the metaphysical categories of process: temporality, potentiality, change, relatedness, development, and dependence or passivity.'²⁴ Another contemporary theologian insists that the 'basic structure of the concept of God found in much western theology is fundamentally unsatisfactory'²⁵ and goes on to argue that although God must be conceived in the traditional way as absolute and unchanging, such a God is inconsistent with a God who is genuinely active in the world through sympathetic, responsive love. In other words, although in *principle* God is all-knowing, in *practice* he cannot be, for his activity in the world through responsive love must be in relation to developments in the world. So God in this view is paradoxically both absolute and relative, or, in the language of the chief exponent of process-relational theism, Charles Hartshorne, he is 'dipolar', which means that he combines into harmony disharmonious pairs such as one/many, being/becoming, activity/passivity, and permanence/change.

Hartshorne does not believe in two gods, one unified and the other plural, etc. Rather, he believes that what are often thought to be contraries are really mutual interdependent correlatives. . . . Supreme excellence . . . *must* somehow be able to integrate all the *complexity* there is in the world itself as one spiritual whole. . . . For Hartshorne, God in his abstract nature, his being, may in a way escape from the temporal flux, but a living God is related to the world of becoming, which entails divine becoming as well.²⁶

23. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 237.

24. Langdon Gilkey, 'God', in *Christian Theology: An Introduction to its Traditions and Tasks*, eds. Peter C. Hodgson, Robert H. King (Philadelphia 1982) 82; cited in Darren J.N. Middleton, 'Nikos Kazantzakis and Process Theology: Thinking Theologically in a Relational World', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1994): 61.

25. David A. Pailin, *God and the Processes of Reality: Foundations for a Credible Theism* (London 1989) 27; cited in Middleton, 'Thinking Theologically', 62.

26. Daniel A. Dombrowski, 'Kazantzakis' Dipolar Theism', *Sophia* 24/2 (1985): 8.

This is why the Christian theologian Hartshorne is able to declare so categorically — and quite as naughtily as the non-Christian or meta-Christian Kazantzakis — that he rejects ‘as idolatry the identification of God with “the absolute”, “infinite”, “immutable”, or “necessary”’. God is on both sides of such abstract contraries, and only so can he be more than a mere abstraction. He is finite *and* infinite, eternal *and* temporal, necessary *and* contingent.²⁷

Kazantzakis, who was persecuted and threatened with excommunication for statements if anything less objectionable to the orthodox than Hartshorne's, was actually fully in tune with thinkers who, although challenging Augustinian orthodoxy, are clearly *within the allowable bounds of Christian speculation*. All that Kazantzakis was doing, really, was trying to ‘offer a way of being religious in a . . . relational world,’²⁸ a world that could never be considered the same after Darwin. It is now a commonplace in theological discussion that the alternative view, the one that Kazantzakis was taught as a child and that Darwinism destroyed for him, namely that the world was created perfect in six days and that evil entered it through the fall of Adam, is ‘utterly unacceptable’ because ‘open to insuperable scientific, moral, and logical objections.’²⁹ Consistent with process-relational theology, Kazantzakis offers us ‘a religious vision of a God . . . struggling in a world still in the process of becoming, . . . wrestling with the evolving world's ambiguity and materiality, [and] alerting us to our true potential.’³⁰ Or, as Kazantzakis himself says in his autobiography through the mouth of his ‘spiritual grandfather’, El Greco:

‘. . . Certain people call me a heretic — let them. I have my own Holy Writ, and it says what the other either forgot or did not dare say. I open it and read in Genesis: God made the world and rested on the seventh day. At that point He called his final creature, man, and said to him, “Listen to me, my son, if you want my blessing. I made the world, *but I neglected to finish it*. I left it in the middle. You continue the creation. Ignite the world, transform it into fire, and render it unto me. I shall turn it into light”’.³¹

27. Charles Hartshorne, *A Natural Theology for Our Time* (La Salle, Illinois 1967) 127-8.

28. Middleton, ‘Thinking Theologically’, 69.

29. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 246, 249.

30. Middleton, ‘Thinking Theologically’, 71.

31. *Report to Greco*, 509; italics added.

It may be objected that process-relational theologians tend to be mainstream, non-fundamentalist Protestants, and therefore that the Greek Orthodox Church becomes so angry when it considers Kazantzakis because it senses in him a crypto-Protestant liberal. Perhaps. And perhaps with some justification, for Kazantzakis, I repeat, was not an orthodox Christian — certainly not an Orthodox one. Yet one of the most fascinating aspects of this supposed heretic's religious vision is the way in which it does coincide with some of the profoundest insights of Greek Orthodox spirituality. In this connection, we must consider the ending of *Askitikí*, his major religious statement, which, let us remember, Bishop Athanasios of Syros condemned as anti-religious. This ending is Kazantzakis' Credo and at the same time his version of the beatitudes.³² I have already quoted its opening: 'I believe in one God, . . . of mighty but not of omnipotent powers.' The Credo goes on to elaborate a perfectly dipolar view, stressing first 'the innumerable, the ephemeral masks which God has assumed throughout the centuries' but then, contradictorily, 'the indestructible unity' behind 'his ceaseless flux.'³³ Next, it proceeds to God's evolutionary role and his need to be helped by his own evolving creatures, who, as they evolve first biologically and then in religious awareness, gradually realise that they and God — they and the life force, the *élan vital* — are one and the same. These evolving creatures, in Kazantzakis' view, are the blessed: 'Blessed be all those who free you and become united with you, Lord, and who say: "You and I are one"'. But then, at the very end, Kazantzakis adds a final beatitude that, as he put it in a letter, is 'a bomb that blows up the entire *Askitikí*.'³⁴ It is: 'And thrice blessed be those who bear on their shoulders and do not buckle under this great, sublime, and terrifying secret: that even this one does not exist!' This has been widely interpreted as 'a proclamation of absolute nihilism'³⁵ even by those friendly to Kazantzakis, and

32. *Saviors of God*, 130-1; *Askitikí*, 94-5.

33. It is worth noting that the Byzantine mystics speak of God in dipolar fashion when they describe him as a *μονάς πλουσία*, a 'profuse unity' (precisely the consummation that Kazantzakis wished for his own life: see Helen Kazantzakis, *Biography*, 166.

34. Prevelakis, *Tetrakósia grámmata*, 77.

35. Pendelis Prevelakis 'Ο Καζαντζάκης, βίος και έργα', *Τετράδια 'Ευθύνης'* 3 (1977) 30.

of course as final proof of his disbelief in 'eternal values' by those unfriendly critics eager to condemn him as an atheist, anti-christ, or worse. Interestingly, one of the friendliest of his critics worries about the final beatitude in a manner that reveals her inability to consider dipolar reasoning. She views the bulk of the *Askitikí* as a perfectly fine extension of Bergsonian neo-Darwinism but then complains that Kazantzakis suddenly reverts to the world-view of solipsistic Buddhism. 'The two world-views employed by Kazantzakis,' she concludes, 'are incompatible, . . . the one refutes the other; . . . it is absolutely impossible even for the most metaphysical mind to consider the first a stage of the second.'³⁶ Yet a less polarised view of Kazantzakis' thought — a view capable of integrating all the complexity that exists in his system (as in the world) and of melding what are often thought to be contraries into mutual interdependent correlatives — might see the statement 'even this one does not exist' not so much as a contrary bomb destroying all the value previously elaborated, but as a paradoxical final stage that does not refute what preceded.

It is instructive that Orthodoxy itself includes precisely such a view. Its mystical tradition known as the apophatic way (*via negativa*) 'stresses that no words, images, ideas, ideologies, or cultural expressions can gather up all that God is.'³⁷ This, I suggest, is why Kazantzakis' credo and beatitudes are embedded in a concluding section called 'The Silence'. His spiritual exercises first guide the postulant to cosmological knowledge of, and faith in, unity. But then, as a sort of bomb blowing up everything that preceded, the postulant is guided at the very end to apathy (in the sense of cessation of effort) and ignorance. This ending has been criticised as nihilistic, as we have seen, and therefore as inconsistent with religious values. Yet it is not inconsistent with the mystical tradition of Orthodoxy. Regarding apathy, which Kazantzakis glosses as 'the summit of non-effort, beyond every labour',³⁸ the mystical theology of the Orthodox Church teaches that spiritual exercise — i.e., effort — paradoxically bestows upon the human soul a 'stability

36. Elli Lambridi, 'Η "Οδύσσεια" του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη. Η μεταφυσική της', *Νεοελληνικά Γράμματα* (11 March 1939) 11.

37. Sandra Cronk, *Dark Night Journey: Inward Re-patterning towards a Life Centered in God* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania 1991) 21.

38. *Saviors of God*, 129; *Askitikí*, 93.

in the midst of passions: a 'serenity or apathy which is the beginning of deification.'³⁹ Regarding ignorance, the mystical theology of the Orthodox Church prescribes exercises that lead to 'absolute ignorance' for the following reason: 'If in seeing God one can know what one sees, then one has not seen God in Himself but something intelligible, something which is inferior to Him.' Therefore the postulant must proceed by negations 'in order to draw near to the Unknown in the darkness of absolute ignorance.'⁴⁰ Similarly, Kazantzakis insists that the height of spiritual attainment involves a merging with the Abyss (one pole of his dipolar conception of God) where 'teaching does not exist' and the postulant 'escapes . . . his tiny question-filled brain.'⁴¹ This is why, in his beatitudes, knowing — 'You and I are one, Lord' — is followed by unknowing: 'even this one does not exist.'

I want to conclude by lamenting the unjustified anger of Christians of all sorts — Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox — against this man who was religious to the core, and who possessed a religious vision providing a path that he hoped would lead not just to his own salvation but also to the communal restitution of religiosity in a society that he felt had degenerated precisely because it no longer possessed a religious vision. Yet this man, whose only desire was to make people take Christ seriously again as a model who could speak meaningfully to a post-Darwinian culture, inspired the Vatican to ban his book, Rev. Bill Bright to wish to burn all copies of the film of *The Last Temptation*, Bishop Athanasios to have Kazantzakis subpoenaed for impiety, the synod in Athens to attempt to excommunicate him. Perhaps we can say that Kazantzakis experienced in his own life the discouraging truth that he made so vivid in one of his novels: that Christ is eternally recrucified. At the very least, we can say that he was a prophet crying, most of the time, in the wilderness. No matter. Despite all the opposition, Kazantzakis' books do speak to religious seekers who are not straitjacketed by fundamentalism, and his life exemplifies true witness: for Kazantzakis aspired, suffered, and persevered in a fashion that makes no sense at all if God does not exist.

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39. Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London 1957) 48.

40. Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, 25.

41. *Saviors of God*, 130; *Askitiki*, 93-4.

‘Lignum Vitae’ or ‘Crux Gemmata’? The Cross of Golgotha in the Early Byzantine Period*

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Introduction

The assumption is often made — and even stated as fact — that in the Early Byzantine period, the rock of Golgotha in Jerusalem was surmounted by a memorial cross. Such an assumption ignores the manifold problems in establishing not only whether this cross actually existed, but if so, what kind of cross it was, at what date it was put there, and by whom, and whether it was a permanent fixture. This paper will examine contemporary evidence, both textual and iconographic, in an attempt to discover whether there is any basis for positing the existence of such a cross; and it will also refer briefly, where appropriate, to the arguments or claims of modern scholars.

The investigation is not however simply concerned with establishing the existence or otherwise of a memorial cross on Golgotha during the period in question. It will involve also some evaluation of the significance of certain cruciform images: in other words, what was most important about these images to the cultures which created them, and in what sense they were ‘representational’. It will be argued that contemporary devotional emphasis was focused on the relic of the Wood of the Cross (the invention of which dates from Constantine’s time or shortly after), rather than on any cruciform artefacts or monuments; so that early images of the cross, many of which are

* The substance of this material was originally presented in April 1991 at the Seventh Australian Byzantine Studies Conference in Canberra, which was held in conjunction with the Peter Brown Seminar; and later that year at a research seminar at the University of Melbourne. I am particularly grateful to Professor Brown for his encouragement and helpful suggestions at the conference; also to Dr. Joan Taylor, with whom I have corresponded on the topic; and to Dr. Gary Vikan, with whom I discussed the material when I was in Baltimore in September 1991.

adduced by modern scholars as evidence for a monumental cross on Golgotha, are likely to be direct or primary representations of the prototype: the Wood of the Cross, rather than secondary images depicting a monument which, if it existed, would have been itself an image of that prototype.¹

A number of scholars have stated that a cross was set up on the Golgotha rock by Constantine the Great;² and they have then identified the cross in certain Early Christian images as representations of that particular monument.³ It should however be noted that none of these images — whatever they depict — dates from the time of Constantine. Nor is there any contemporary written evidence to

1. Apart from a brief period of captivity in Persia (614-631), the relic of the Wood of the Cross was kept in Jerusalem during the three centuries from its invention until it was removed to Constantinople, probably just prior to 638 when Jerusalem surrendered to the Arabs. During these three centuries, numerous fragments were obtained by favoured pilgrims and ecclesiastics. These tiny splinters, often housed in large and elaborate cruciform reliquaries, were regarded as possessing the same powers as the main piece of the Wood of the Cross in Jerusalem, because the Cross was seen as one indivisible whole (see esp. Paulinus of Nola *Ep.* 32, 11 (*PL* 61, 336; tr. R.C. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola* [Amsterdam 1940])). In this paper, references to the Wood of the Cross indicate specifically the main relic located in the Holy Sepulchre church in Jerusalem, but with the rider that all the other fragments distributed across Christendom should not be regarded as independent entities — still less as mere 'symbols': all fragments, whatever their size, were regarded as the real thing. The Jerusalem relic had of course the advantage not only of distinctive size but also of being kept and venerated at or near its locus, the rock of Golgotha. Whether or not this main piece was cruciform in shape, or even (in the literal sense) complete, its representation in visual imagery always takes the *geometric* form of the original cross on which Christ was crucified, because the relic was wholly identified with the original cross. Fourth- to seventh-century sources give the relic various titles: Wood of the Cross, True Cross, Tree of Life, Lignum Vitae, Lignum Sanctum Crucis, Crux Domini, Crux Christi; for the purposes of this discussion, I have treated all these titles as synonyms emphasising one or other aspect of the cross.

2. Most notably K. Weitzmann, "'Loca Sancta'" and the Representational Arts of Palestine', *DOP* 28 (1974) 40; and B. Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium. Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, Supplement 42 (Rome 1987) 66 (hereafter *E to HJ*). See also V.C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Aspetti archeologici dalle origini al periodo crociato*, Part II (Jerusalem 1981-2), English text accompanying Pl.3: '... the hillock of Calvary ... with a cross on the top'; and Pl.40: '... at the time of Constantine the rocky hillock of Calvary was simply crowned by a cross'.

3. Kühnel, *E to HJ* 66; Weitzmann, 'Loca Sancta', 40.

support a Constantinian origin for a monumental cross on the rock of Golgotha, however attractive such a proposition may be. Certain texts have however been interpreted as evidence for such a cross, whether of Constantinian date or later; the following discussion will examine these texts first, and then look at the iconographic evidence and its problems of interpretation.

The Textual Evidence

From the period between the commencement of the Constantinian building programme on the Golgotha site, in 326 or soon after, and its completion, probably around mid-century,⁴ there have survived three accounts of what could be seen there. The first was written by an anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux;⁵ the other two by Palestinian bishops: Eusebius of Caesarea,⁶ and Cyril of Jerusalem.⁷ None of these three eye-witnesses mentions a cross on the rock of Golgotha.

The Bordeaux pilgrim, who visited the site in 333, two years before the dedication of the main church,⁸ noted the rock, but commented only on its importance as the *site* of the crucifixion:

On your left is the hillock Golgotha where the Lord was crucified . . .⁹

The likelihood that the buildings were far from complete in 333, could account for the fact that no cross is mentioned. Eusebius, who is

4. For a discussion of the dating of the various Constantinian buildings on the site, see C. Couasnon, *The Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, tr. J.-P.B. and C. Ross (London 1974) esp. 14ff; and V. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro*, vol. 1, esp. 223-228.

5. The Bordeaux Pilgrim, ed. P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, Saec. IIII-VIII (CSEL, Vienna 1898) vol. 58, 21ff.

6. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini*, 3:28ff., tr. S. Bagster, *Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, I (London 1845) (hereafter *GEH*).

7. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*, 1.1, 4.14, etc. (PG 33); referred to by P.W.L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?* (Oxford 1990) 254, n. 48 (hereafter *HCHP*).

8. Eusebius' dedicatory oration 'On Christ's Sepulchre' is dated to 335 by Walker, *HCHP*, 251; see also Z. Rubin, 'The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the conflict between the sees of Caesarea and Jerusalem', in L.I. Levine (ed.) *Jerusalem Cathedral 2* (Jerusalem and Detroit 1982) 86.

9. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (as in note 5); tr. J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land* (revised edition) (Jerusalem 1981) 158.

our main contemporary source for the Constantinian buildings on the site, does not even mention the rock itself, and is quite unspecific about the exact nature of the emperor's gifts to his new foundation. After describing in detail the adornment of the tomb of Christ and the building of the main basilica, Eusebius says of Constantine:

He further enriched it with numberless offerings of inexpressible beauty, consisting of gold, silver, and precious stones, in various forms; the skilful and elaborate arrangement of which, in regard to their magnitude, number and variety, we have not leisure at present to describe particularly.¹⁰

It is quite possible that Eusebius was deliberately imprecise in his description of the emperor's gifts, because he did not want to mention either the Golgotha rock or the discovery of the Wood of the Cross. In a recent study of Eusebius and Cyril and their contrasting attitudes to the holy sites, Peter Walker has suggested several convincing reasons — theological, historical, and political — for this reluctance (although Walker is here discussing the relic and the rock, not a memorial cross).¹¹ We have to allow for the possibility, then, that Eusebius ignored a Constantinian memorial cross, because he did not want to draw attention to the rock.

Such an argument is not however applicable to Cyril, who would have had none of Eusebius' probable objections to a memorial cross. In contrast to Eusebius, Cyril's whole theological emphasis was on the crucifixion,¹² and in his catechetical lectures, delivered around 348, there is frequent reference both to the rock of Golgotha,¹³ and

10. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 3.40; tr. Bagster, *GEH* I.

11. Walker, *HCHP* 128-129; see also 252ff. Noting Eusebius' 'strategic silences' on other matters not to his liking, Walker suggests that as a diligent historian, Eusebius may well have doubted the authenticity of the Wood of the Cross; that, as metropolitan of Palestine, he may have wished to play down the 'discovery' because of its political value to the Jerusalem church in its attempts to achieve ecclesiastical autonomy; that, as a theologian in the Origenist tradition, he would have disliked any cult of physical relics; and that, as one whose theological emphasis was on the resurrection rather than the crucifixion, he may well have been uneasy about such a strong focus on Golgotha.

12. Walker, *ibid.*, esp. 116ff; 254ff.

13. Cyril, *Catech.*, 1.1, 4.14, etc. (ten occasions).

to the relic — the Wood of the Cross¹⁴ — which he claims, in a letter to Constantine's son Constantius, was discovered in the time of Constantine.¹⁵ In the absence of any Eusebian-type reservations about an emphasis on Golgotha, Cyril's failure to mention a memorial cross suggests one of two possibilities: either that no memorial cross was there; or that a cross was there, but that it seemed relatively unimportant when the actual Wood of the Cross was also kept at the site.

During the very last years of Cyril's life, two women from western Europe made separate pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Egeria, who probably came in the early 380s, wrote her own account of her journey;¹⁶ and the pilgrimage of Paula, who came to live in the Holy Land in 385, is recounted by Jerome, who accompanied her around the holy sites.¹⁷ Jerome describes how Paula 'fell down and worshipped before the cross as if she could see the Lord hanging on it'¹⁸ — an act of extreme devotion that seems more appropriate to the actual Wood of the Cross than to a monument, although it has been interpreted by some as evidence for the latter.¹⁹

In the part of her journal which deals with the Jerusalem festivals, Egeria frequently uses the phrases 'at the cross', 'before the cross', and 'behind the cross', employing this particular cross as a kind of landmark to denote where certain ceremonies took place at the Holy Sepulchre site.²⁰ For example, when describing the preparations for the veneration of the Wood of the Cross on Good Friday, Egeria says:

Et sic ponitur cathedra episcopo in Golgotha post crucem, quae stat nunc; residet episcopus in cathedra . . .²¹

14. Cyril, *ibid.*, 4.10, 10.19, etc. (five occasions).

15. Cyril, *Epistola ad Constantium Imperatorem* (PG 33) 1168B.

16. *Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed. E. Franceschini and R. Weber (CCSL 175) 27-90. For a discussion of the date of her journey, see Wilkinson, *Egeria*, 237-9, 330-1.

17. Jerome, *Epistola ad Eustochium* 108, ed. I. Hilberg (CSEL 55).

18. *Ibid.*, 9.2, tr. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem-Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster 1977) 49 (hereafter *JPBC*).

19. E.g. Wilkinson, *JPBC* 177(6); but for an interpretation of this passage as a reference to the Wood of the Cross, see A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris 1961) 165.

20. E.g. *Itin. Eg.*, 24.7; 25.1,8,11; 37.1,4,5,8; etc.

21. *Itin. Eg.*, 37.1.

The more precise definition — ‘quae stat nunc’ — ‘which stands [?there] now’, may be intended to distinguish *this* cross from the Wood of the Cross, which at this point she is about to discuss, and which does not ‘stand’, but is kept in a reliquary and then taken out and laid on a table. Egeria does not describe the appearance of the standing cross (at least, not in the part of her journal which survives); nor is it absolutely clear whether her phrase ‘quae stat nunc’ indicates a fixed, permanent cross, or a temporary ceremonial one — like the bishop’s moveable throne.²² The latter possibility is certainly quite plausible: the text can mean ‘which is now standing’ or ‘which is now in place’, so it may refer to a processional cross, ‘now’ fixed into a socket, for a ceremony which is about to take place at or near the rock. Indeed, Egeria indicates in another part of her account that many elaborate liturgical furnishings and decorations were brought out for special festivals.²³ No doubt many of these gold and jewelled liturgical artefacts which so impressed her were identical with those gifts of the emperor Constantine, recorded — although not exactly described — by Eusebius, half a century earlier.²⁴ In this sense, the cross which Egeria noted at the Golgotha rock, and others apparently did not, could well have been a donation of the emperor Constantine; but this has to remain a conjecture, for which no evidence has yet been found.

In any event, as with Cyril of Jerusalem’s lectures, Egeria’s journal makes it clear that it was the relic of the Wood of the Cross which was of primary significance. She describes in detail the ceremony of its veneration on Good Friday (calling it ‘*lignum sanctum crucis*’);²⁵ and notes in another part of her journal that the anniversary festival for the dedication of the two churches on the Golgotha site coincides with the feast-day of the Invention of the Cross

22. The fact that Egeria employs this standing cross as a landmark might suggest that it was a permanent fixture, although as she invariably mentions it in the context of liturgy and festivals, a moveable ceremonial cross is equally possible.

23. *Irin.Eg.*, 25.8; see also 49.3.

24. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 3.40 (quoted in translation above).

25. *Irin.Eg.*, 37.1

(here called 'crux domini').²⁶ In marked contrast, the other cross, to which she frequently refers as a landmark, is always simply 'crux'; and there is no indication in the text that this cross has any significance other than denoting where ceremonies take place, or where buildings are in relation to it.

Some scholars who are wary of assigning a Constantinian origin to the supposed memorial cross on Golgotha, nevertheless claim that Theodosius II erected a jewelled cross on the rock in the early 5th century.²⁷ The main textual basis for such an assertion is Theophanes' chronicle, written in the early 9th century. This records that in AM 5920, that is AD 427/8, the emperor Theodosius II, in exchange for relics of St. Stephen from Jerusalem, sent a gold cross studded with precious stones to be fixed at or on the rock of Golgotha.²⁸ Theophanes' story may well be a medieval fabrication, because no contemporary source records any such donation by the emperor. Two later historians, George Kedrenos²⁹ and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos,³⁰ also relate the same story, virtually quoting Theophanes verbatim; but there is no record of it prior to the 9th century.

Theophanes' dating of this event to 428 has been queried by a number of scholars, and Kenneth Holum has argued that it should be read as 421.³¹ But the historical accuracy of the rest of this story

26. *Itin. Eg.*, 48.1-2. The early 7th century *Chronicon Paschale* suggests that the Feast of the Invention of the Cross had begun in 334, at the same time as the inauguration of the 'Church of the Holy Cross': that is, Constantine's basilica at Golgotha. See the discussion of this passage in M. Whitby and M. Whitby (eds.), *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD* (Liverpool 1989) 20, n. 62. See also n. 49 below.

27. E.g. A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclisme byzantin: dossier archéologique* (Paris 1957) 28, n. 2; D. Barag, 'Glass Pilgrim Vessels from Jerusalem', part I, *Journal of Glass Studies* 12 (1970) 40; Wilkinson *JPBC* 177.6.

28. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, (ed. de Boor) 86. (AM 5920).

29. George Kedrenos, *Compendium Historiarum* (PG 121) 644.

30. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Eccl. Hist.* 14.9 (PG 146) 1084.

31. K. Holum, 'Pulcheria's Crusade AD 421-22 and the Ideology of Imperial Victory', *GRBS* 18 (1977) 163, n. 46. The earlier date would however make no difference to the present argument.

is very rarely questioned.³² As a consequence, it is sometimes assumed that Egeria's landmark cross of the 380s must have been a plain one, as it apparently needed replacing, just a few decades later, by something grander.³³ Holum, whose main interest in this part of Theophanes' account concerns the transfer of relics of St. Stephen to Constantinople, cites in support of the story an encomium of St. Stephen, probably delivered by the patriarch Proclus in Constantinople 'within a decade or two' of 421, which appears to confirm at least the translation of relics of Stephen to Constantinople,³⁴ although even this point has been strongly challenged by John Wortley.³⁵ This almost contemporary encomium does not, however, make any reference to a jewelled cross being sent to Jerusalem in exchange; so that detail of Theophanes' story may well be apocryphal, even if the rest is true.³⁶

32. The only scholar, as far as I am aware, who raises doubts (other than about the *dating* of Theophanes' account) is John Wortley, 'The Trier Ivory Reconsidered', *GRBS* 21 (1980) 381ff. Wortley does not specifically question the gift of a jewelled cross to Jerusalem, but regards the translation of relics of Stephen to Constantinople in 420/1 as 'a fictitious event' (p.382).

33. Wilkinson, *JPBC* 177.6, assumes this to be the case. Barag, 'Glass Vessels', 40, says that if 'Aetheria's' account is not later than the early 5th century, then Theodosius II must have replaced the cross, of which she wrote, with the '*crux gemmata*'; see also Barag, *ibid.*, n. 21. Kühnel, *E to HJ* 66, claims that it was Theodosius I (*sic*) who renewed the '*crux gemmata*'.

34. Holum, 'Pulcheria's Crusade', 164; Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1982) 108; K. G. Holum and G. Vikan, 'The Trier Ivory, "Adventus" Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen', *DOP* 33 (1979) 131-2.

35. Wortley, 'Trier Ivory Reconsidered', 383ff, esp. 389, n.30.

36. The suggestion that part, or all, of this story has been made up would be quite plausible for Theophanes' early 9th century context of post-iconoclasm emphasis on images and relics, and in particular, of iconodule attempts to reclaim the cross as an *orthodox* imperial symbol after its virtual hijacking by the iconoclast emperors. Even the image of a jewelled cross on Theodosian coinage of 421-2 does not really provide confirmation of Theophanes' story, as it appears to be a processional cross (held by a figure of Victory). Holum ('Pulcheria's Crusade', 166-7) suggests that this cross is most likely patterned on a ceremonial cross in the palace at Constantinople, which he proposes as the 'common model' for the solidi of Theodosius II and the 'Golgotha cross'. (The fact that one image is patterned or modelled after the form of another image does not of course indicate that the second image necessarily *represents* the first: it may still, in its primary role, be an image of the prototype — the most obvious example being the icon of a holy person). Holum's theory may be supported by the fact that the jewelled cross on the Theodosian coins is not pictured in conjunction with a hill, or even on a stepped base: the cross on a stepped base does not appear until the late 6th century, on the coinage of Tiberius II. It is noteworthy, however, that when these stepped crosses do appear on coins, they are not depicted as being jewelled.

The huge gold and jewelled cross of the S. Pudenziana apse mosaic in Rome has been claimed by some scholars to be a depiction of this imperial cross,³⁷ but as the latest date for completion of the mosaic is 417,³⁸ and the earliest possible date for the Theodosian cross is 420, there is quite clearly a problem of timing. The question of conflicting dates seems to be ignored by many scholars, a notable exception being Dan Barag, who whilst stating that the cross in the mosaic is 'apparently identical with that of Theodosius', also admits that a later date would need to be assigned to the S. Pudenziana mosaic.³⁹ The problem here however is that the mosaic would then have to postdate its own integral dedicatory inscription. This mosaic, being crucial to the present investigation, will be discussed in more detail below, in conjunction with other cross-on-hill images.

Before the 9th century, the only *textual* indication of gold and jewels in association with a cross at Golgotha is found in the *Breviarius*, an anonymous pilgrim guidebook dating probably from the early 6th century.⁴⁰ The *Breviarius* is a hybrid text, with many additions and some apparent contradictions. The additions were probably annotations made by pilgrims who had used it as a guidebook, but it may originally have been a sort of advertising broadsheet for pilgrimages to the Holy Land.⁴¹ In its description of the Golgotha buildings and the relics associated with them, the *Breviarius* makes two separate references to the cross.⁴² Of these, the first (lines 6-10), is quite clearly to the

37. See e.g. Grabar, *L'Iconoclisme byzantin*, 28, n. 2; and Barag, 'Glass Vessels', 40, n. 27. For the claim that the mosaic depicts an *earlier* imperial gift, see Kühnel, *E to HJ*, 66 (here, 'Theodosius I', with no supporting evidence); and K.J. Conant, 'The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem', *Speculum* 31 (1956) No. 1, 5-7, who identifies the S. Pudenziana cross with an 'imperial gift' on the Golgotha rock, dating from the mid-fourth century or 'soon' after (again, without supporting evidence).

38. The S. Pudenziana apse mosaic originally included a dedicatory inscription on its lower edge, dating the decoration of the church to the time of Pope Innocent I (402-417); see E. Dassmann, 'Das Apsismosaik von S. Pudenziana in Rom', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 65 (1970) 67-68.

39. Barag, 'Glass Vessels', 40, n. 27.

40. *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* (ed. R. Weber, CCL 175) 105-112; tr. Wilkinson, *JPBC*, 59-61. For a discussion of the dating, see Wilkinson, *ibid.*, 4-5, 183.

41. *Ibid.*, 5.

42. See Appendix A.

relic of the Wood of the Cross; but the second (lines 38-45), is usually taken to be a description of a monumental gold and jewelled cross on the rock of Golgotha.⁴³ These lines describe what can be seen at the hill of Golgotha, including 'the cross of the Lord . . . adorned with gold and gems'. But a close reading of the few extant versions of the text indicates that this second reference must also be to the Wood of the Cross, housed in its elaborate reliquary, and not to a memorial cross.

Firstly, it should be noted that on both occasions, the cross in question is referred to as 'crux domini',⁴⁴ which was one of the customary titles of the Wood of the Cross. This fact alone surely indicates that both references are to the same cross. But the most convincing argument in favour of the second cross being not a monument, but the relic, is the fact that the cross 'adorned with gold and gems' is identical with the cross which brought a dead man back to life.⁴⁵ This is a reference to a well-known legend, in circulation at least as early as the year 403,⁴⁶ which recounted the first miracle performed by the relic of the Wood of the Cross. It was also the miracle, as the *Breviarius* explicitly states here, which identified this particular piece of wood as the real thing.⁴⁷

The *Breviarius*'s first mention of the cross refers to a 'cubiculus ubi crux domini posita est'; and the second refers to a place either at or on the rock of Golgotha, 'ubi fuit crux domini exposita'. The use of 'exposita' instead of 'posita' could indicate some kind of public display of the relic, probably under a baldachin, although one version of the text says 'under open sky'.⁴⁸ In the near-contemporary text of Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, it is recorded that during the Feast of the Holy Cross, which was in September, the relic was

43. See, e.g. Wilkinson, *JPBC*, 177.6.

44. A and B lines 9-10; A lines 41-42; B line 42: 'crux Christi'.

45. B lines 40-43: 'crux Christi . . . et ipsa crux . . . '.

46. Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 31 (*PL* 61) 325f.

47. B lines 40-42.

48. Form A: 'caelum desuper patente'. Form B has: 'celum desuper aureum'. The apparent contradiction is discussed by Wilkinson, *JPBC* 59 n. 2; 182 n. 6a, 6b. See also note 56 below.

displayed for seven days;⁴⁹ which suggests that by this date, over a century later than the visit of Egeria (who does however note the existence of the festival), there was more frequent public access to Jerusalem's holiest relic,⁵⁰ and that on some occasions it may have been displayed, as distinct from being venerated.

One further detail in which the *Breviarius* differs from Egeria's late-4th century account, is that the 6th century document describes the cross as being 'adorned with gold and gems', whereas Egeria reported that the reliquary was of gilded silver ('loculus argenteus deauratus').⁵¹ Egeria may simply not have noticed the jewels, but it is quite likely that a new more elaborate reliquary had been made some time in the 5th century to house the Wood of the Cross. From the second half of the 5th century, it became increasingly common for reliquaries of the True Cross⁵² to be made of gold and jewels, and often cruciform as well — for example, those in two of the papal oratories in Rome: one made in the 460s for Pope Hilary, at the Lateran baptistery; and another for Pope Symmachus, at St. Peter's baptistery, around the year 500 (which is almost exactly contemporary with the *Breviarius*).⁵³ Later in the 6th century, an elaborate reliquary

49 Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, 31 (CCSL 175) 124; for a discussion of the dating of this work, see Wilkinson, *JPBC*, 5, 185. The September Feast of the Holy Cross was timed to coincide with the date of the founding of Solomon's temple as recorded in the Old Testament, and was also (in reference to this) called the Encaenia (*Itin. Eg.*, 48.1-49.3). This festival celebrated not only the Invention of the Cross but also the founding of Constantine's basilica at Golgotha (by Egeria's time, claimed to have been built over the spot where the relic was found) and the Anastasis rotunda built over the Tomb of Christ, which for Christians symbolically replaced the Jewish temple. This indicates that at least by the 380s, and probably earlier, the Wood of the Cross was not associated only with Easter, but had become virtually an independent entity, validated almost as much by its locus (which it in turn validated) as by its history.

50. See also Barag, 'Glass Vessels', 47 and n. 69, who notes that 'Gregory of Tours (d.593/4) states that this ceremony (i.e. the veneration of the Cross) takes place on Ash Wednesday' — whereas Egeria had noted it only on Good Friday.

51. *Itin. Eg.*, 37.1

52. On documented fragments of the cross, see Frolow, *Vraie Croix*.

53. The reliquaries in the papal oratories are recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, 242, 261; see Frolow, *Vraie Croix*, 173 (20, 23). For further contemporary examples of gold, jewelled and cruciform reliquaries of True Cross fragments, see *ibid.*, 176 (26), 177 (29), etc.

of the True Cross was sent to Rome as a gift from Justin II and his wife Sophia; this originally had its fragment of the cross surrounded by a circle of twelve precious stones.⁵⁴ The Jerusalem relic may also by the early 6th century have been housed or displayed in some kind of shrine, because the *Breviarius* mentions 'silver doors' and a screen adorned with gold and silver;⁵⁵ this is in addition to the canopy, which of course could have been made of silk.⁵⁶

Alongside these apparent differences, however, the *Breviarius* records one striking parallel with the ritual of Egeria's day. She had reported that immediately after venerating the Wood of the Cross, and in the same small chapel just behind the rock, pilgrims also kissed the Ring of Solomon and the Horn of Anointing.⁵⁷ These two important relics made direct reference to the Jewish temple, and were agents in the Christians' ritual transfer of temple-space to the Golgotha site.⁵⁸ Significantly, the *Breviarius* also locates these two particular relics in the same place as the 'crux domini',⁵⁹ although by this date, another relic had been added: the plate which had once carried the head of John the Baptist.⁶⁰ The *Breviarius*'s listing of the 'crux

54. Frolov, *Vraie Croix*, 180-1 (34); no doubt, this circle of twelve stones around the True Cross fragment was symbolic of Christ surrounded by his twelve apostles, as in the iconography of some Early Christian church decoration: for example, the apse mosaic in Paulinus' church at Nola, where the apostles were represented as a circle of doves around the cross (Paulinus, *Ep.* 32, ed. Goldschmidt, *Churches*, 38). But the point about the design of this reliquary, in the present context, is the close association between jewels and the Wood of the Cross — as also in the *Breviarius*.

55. The text, in both forms A and B, first mentions 'silver screen(s)' around the rock itself (lines 35-6). Only A mentions the 'silver doors', in an ambiguous sentence: 'Habet ostia argentea ubi fuit crux domini exposita' (lines 38-42A), which could refer either to the screen around the rock, or to one around, or in front of, the 'crux domini'. Both A and B then describe what is apparently *another* screen (lines 45-6), associated with the 'crux domini' rather than the rock; in A, this second screen is 'auro et argento multum ornatae'.

56. cf. *Itin. Eg.*, 25.8, where reference is made to the rich silk and gold textiles used at festivals. The existence of a temporary baldachin might explain the apparent contradiction at this point in the *Breviarius* (1.44) between version A and version B: the cross, if displayed under a silk and gold canopy out in the court, would still have been 'under open sky' (A) and yet 'under a golden sky/canopy' (B).

57. *Itin. Eg.*, 37.3.

58. This process of transferral has been discussed by a number of scholars, e.g. Wilkinson, *Egeria*, 302ff; and R. Ousterhout, 'The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the Martyrion of the Saviour', *Gesta* 29/1 (1990) 44-53.

59. lines 50-54. A mentions both; B the Horn of Anointing, but not the Ring of Solomon.

60. lines 46-49.

domini' along with three other relics, two of them known to be specifically linked in Jerusalem ritual with the Wood of the Cross, suggests either that this is a description of the contents of a reliquary chapel, located at or just behind the Golgotha rock; or alternatively that this is a parallel scene to Egeria's Good Friday veneration, with the relics on display together. The notion that a memorial cross, rather than the relic, is here being described, would seem quite inappropriate to the context.

If all the available evidence from the *Breviarius* is adduced, then despite some apparent confusion between the manuscript versions,⁶¹ the wording of this passage indicates beyond any reasonable doubt that the cross described here is on both occasions the relic of the Wood of the Cross; and so to interpret the second reference as a description of a monumental cross, or as a support for Theophanes' story, would be to misread the text.⁶²

No other surviving pilgrim account, from Egeria's time until the Persian invasion of Jerusalem in 614, refers to any kind of memorial cross on the rock, even though most of them describe the rock itself. Thus, for example, the Piacenza Pilgrim, who went to Jerusalem around the year 570, climbed the rock by means of the steps cut into it (which he believed to be the same steps Christ had climbed to his crucifixion); on top of the rock, he saw a bloodstain; and near this, the Altar of Abraham; but apparently, no standing cross, let alone a gold and jewelled one. What did impress him greatly, however, was the relic of the Wood of the Cross, venerated in a ceremony he describes in detail.⁶³ Other pilgrim accounts before 614 also indicate that this relic was as sacred to pilgrims as the Tomb itself.⁶⁴

61. See Appendix A.

62. It is even possible that Form A, if taken on its own, does not refer, on the second occasion, to anything other than the *rock*, with a historical reference to the crucifixion: 'ubi fuit crux domini exposita' (A lines 41-42): 'where the cross of the Lord was (once) set up'. The adjective 'ornata' would then have to qualify the neuter plural 'ostia' instead of the feminine singular 'crux'. Considered in conjunction with Form B, however, the reference appears more likely to be to the relic, not just the rock.

63. *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium* (ed. P. Geyer, CCSL 175) 127-174.

64. E.g. Sophronius of Jerusalem, *Anacreonticon* 20, ed. M. Gigante (Rome 1957); Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, 31 (The Feast of the Holy Cross) (ed. Geyer, CCSL 175), 124.

If, then, there *was* a memorial cross on top of the rock, it apparently did not mean much in comparison to the ‘real thing’, which could be seen and kissed; and this must of course be taken into account in the present investigation. In other words, the fact that no memorial cross is described, does not necessarily mean that one did not exist. On the other hand, if such a cross did exist, but was not significant enough for pilgrims or theologians to describe, it seems unlikely that this same cross would have been depicted in the centre of a church apse, or on pilgrim souvenirs; the cross depicted here would surely have been the True Cross — that is, the relic.

The Iconographic Evidence

It will be appropriate now to consider briefly some of this visual evidence, which is probably best understood in conjunction with the written evidence. As indicated by the preceding discussion, the literary sources are often difficult enough to interpret, and at times appear contradictory or confused, perhaps because of our own limited knowledge of contemporary circumstances which seemed too obvious, or too unimportant, for the writers to include. But the visual evidence needs to be treated with even greater caution, because it is easy to produce a circular argument or a non-sequitur: for example, that if a mosaic depicts a huge monumental jewelled cross on the rock of Golgotha, such a cross must in fact have existed there. The strongest counter to such a simplistic identification is the wide variation in type amongst images of the cross-on-the-hill: for example, those on the late-6th century pilgrim ampullae from Palestine,⁶⁵ which differ markedly even among themselves, and which are never, at least in extant examples, shown as being jewelled.⁶⁶ Some of these ampulla

65. For illustrations and discussion of most of the extant ampullae, see A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza-Bobbio)* (Paris 1958).

66. The relatively small size of the ampullae (approximately six inches in diameter in most cases) would not preclude a fine detail such as jewels being indicated, as there is a surprising amount of detail included on them: for example, a starry sky behind one of the cross-images, or the metal grille of the tomb aedicule.

crosses are plain,⁶⁷ or have flared ends with knobs;⁶⁸ most have the form known as 'palm tree',⁶⁹ indicating the cross as the 'Wood of Life', which was one of the titles of the True Cross — a title in fact spelt out in the most common form of the Greek inscriptions around the edges of these ampullae.⁷⁰

Whilst some scholars see no problem in identifying the ampullae crosses with an actual monument on Golgotha,⁷¹ others are more cautious. André Grabar, for instance, even though he believes that the S.Pudenziana cross represents a jewelled monument set up by Theodosius II on the Golgotha rock, is unwilling to accept that the ampullae also depict this, and argues that they depict instead the relic of the True Cross.⁷² As evidence, he cites the inclusion of the Four Rivers of Paradise, which in most of the ampullae images flow down the rock of Golgotha from the foot of the cross, indicating clearly that this is a symbolic and not a topographical representation.⁷³ Gary Vikan has also suggested, like Grabar, that the two kneeling figures of pilgrims, which occur on many of these ampullae at either side of the cross, indicate that the cross depicted here is the relic.⁷⁴

I would further suggest that even the cross in the S.Pudenziana apse mosaic is also a primary image of the prototype, the True Cross,

67. E.g. Monza 5, Grabar, *Ampoules*, Plate XIa.

68. E.g. Monza 4, *ibid.*, Plate Xb; this particular image depicts the hill or rock of Golgotha as a set of steps beneath the cross — a common alternative scheme of representation, referring to the steps cut into the rock. A small proportion of these flared and knobbed ampulla crosses (e.g. Monza 13, *ibid.*, Plate XXV) are depicted without either the hill or the steps, but under a stylised arch comprising two lateral columns joined at the top by an arc in the form of a garland; the arch may refer to an actual shrine or to the chapel in which the Wood was kept near the rock, or it may simply be an artistic convention for depicting something to which great honour was due: cf. Monza 4 (Pl. Xb) which has a similarly shaped arch (plus base) consisting entirely of a garland surrounding both cross and steps.

69. E.g. Bobbio 1, 2, *ibid.*, Plates XXXII, XXXIII; Monza 10, Plate XVI.

70. Translated, this form of inscription reads: 'oil of the Wood of Life from the holy places of Christ', in reference to the fact that these ampullae contained oil sanctified by contact with the Wood of the Cross.

71. E.g. Weitzmann (as in note 2).

72. Grabar, *Ampoules*, 55-56.

73. *Ibid.*, 56.

74. G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington D.C. 1982) 22-24 (hereafter *BPA*); and G. Vikan, 'Pilgrims in Magi's Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art', ed. R. Ousterhout, *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Illinois Byzantine Studies I.

here dressed in the appropriate gold and jewelled uniform of its New Jerusalem setting — just as in the same mosaic Christ's heavenly throne is also gold and jewelled. The iconography of this apse should not be interpreted too literally, however tempting this may be; because even though architectural forms recognisable as 4th century churches at the Jerusalem holy sites are employed as background images,⁷⁵ the Four Beasts of the Apocalypse in the sky above indicate that something other than contemporary Jerusalem is pictured here. While most scholars would agree on this last point, many still take the view that because some actual buildings appear to be represented in the background, the cross on the hill must also be a representation of an existing monument on the Golgotha rock.⁷⁶

There are problems in such an approach, as for example in Kenneth Conant's hypothetical reconstruction of the Golgotha buildings, in which the S. Pudenziana mosaic is relied on almost as an archaeological

Urbana and Chicago 1990) esp. 102-3. See also Grabar, *Ampoules*, 65-66. However, Kühnel, *E to HJ*, 95-6, interprets these ampulla crosses as the relic adored by the pilgrims, and *also* as the monument. Vikan identifies the two kneeling figures as pilgrims, from the style of their hair and beards, and their foreign, exotic clothing — such as trousers (BPA 24). He also suggests that their hands, reaching forward as if to touch the cross, display 'a characteristic gesture of veneration' (*ibid.*, 23-24). If so, then this particular detail is further evidence that the iconography is symbolic rather than literal, because although this gesture was indeed characteristic of much relic veneration (and could therefore be 'read' as 'veneration'), it was specifically forbidden in the case of the Wood of the Cross (*Itin.Eg.*, 37.3). It is possible that the practice had changed since Egeria's time; but the Piacenza Pilgrim's account, which is contemporary with the ampullae, still appears to make a distinction between specific modes of veneration for the Wood and the Title, which were kept together: he kissed the Wood, but *handled* and kissed the Title (*Itin.*, 20. The 'title' was a trilingual superscription originally attached to the top of the cross, and is mentioned in all four gospels: see, esp. John 19:19-22). But the iconography is clearly not intended as a literal representation of the veneration ceremony, any more than as a narrative depiction of the historical crucifixion; and Vikan's parallel between the story of doubting Thomas (who appears on some other ampullae) and the seeing and touching experience of the pilgrim (BPA 24-25) is an appropriate one, supported by the 4th century writings of Cyril (*Catech.*, 13.39). (For a discussion of Cyril's teaching about Thomas, and Cyril's distortion of the meaning of the gospel account, see Walker, *HCHP*, 331-2).

75. For discussion of this point, see e.g. Dassmann, 'Das Apsismosaik', 77-8; Conant, 'Original Buildings', 5-9; Kühnel, *E to HJ* 66ff. There is some disagreement as to just which buildings are included in the background of the mosaic; this is particularly so of the right hand side (see Kühnel, *ibid.*, 66ff).

76. E.g. Kühnel, *ibid.*, 66ff; Conant, 'Original Buildings', 5-7.

record.⁷⁷ Discussing the platform and arcaded bema shown in his drawing, in front of the Golgotha rock, Conant says that this hypothetical arrangement is warranted by the apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana, and cites in support the fact that a ceremony resembling the one depicted in the mosaic was part of the contemporary Jerusalem liturgy.⁷⁸ Writing in 1956, without the benefit of later archaeological excavations, Conant also argued for the 'truth' of the S. Pudenziana mosaic on aesthetic grounds.⁷⁹ Excavations on the Golgotha site have since revealed that the 4th century basilica had a straight western wall with an inscribed apse; and that one of the colonnades of the court in fact ran along this straight western edge of the basilica as far as the rock itself, an arrangement quite unlike Conant's suggested reconstruction based on the S. Pudenziana mosaic.⁸⁰

It seems more reasonable to regard the S. Pudenziana jewelled cross as a celebration of the True Cross, pictured here, as it so often was on the pilgrim ampullae,⁸¹ in *symbolic* conjunction with its locus, the rock of Golgotha. The cross in this mosaic is much more than a part of the background topography (significant though that is). Huge and central, it dominates the composition, lining up in formal conjunction with the figure of Christ on his throne, and so creating a vertical axis that points both to heaven,⁸² and to the altar of the church, which because of the curvature of the apse conch, it actually over-arches. The design of this apse mosaic originally included at the feet of Christ — and therefore on the same vertical axis as the cross — the lamb of St. John's apocalyptic vision.⁸³ In view of the mosaic's position directly above the high altar, it would be appropriate to interpret both cross and lamb in the same way that Paulinus

77. Conant, *ibid.*, esp. 6ff, and Plate X.

78. *Ibid.*, 6.

79. *Ibid.*, 6: 'Architecturally the solution is a good one. The large platform would be very handsome'.

80. See Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro*, II, Plate 3; III, Plates 87-89.

81. See e.g. Grabar, *Ampoules*, 55-56; Vikar, *BPA* 22-23. For a *literary* parallel, see note 94 below.

82. I.e. the 'real' heaven, not the one in the mosaic.

83. This was recorded in a drawing by Ciacconio in 1595 (Cod. Vat. Lat. 5407, f81); see Dassmann, 'Das Apsismosaik', Plate 3a; Kühnel, *E to HJ* 187 n. 34.

interprets the cross and lamb in his own contemporary apse mosaic at Nola:⁸⁴ that is, as referring primarily to the sacrifice of Christ; and so, by extension, to the eucharist, celebrated on the altar below.⁸⁵ Christ's sacrifice had of course taken place on the True Cross, not a jewelled cruciform monument; and the Church believed that it had the True Cross in its possession.

Further visual evidence is provided by a group of glass vessels, which have been dated to the late 6th or early 7th century, and so are contemporary with the Palestinian ampullae.⁸⁶ These glass vessels are believed to have been made in Jerusalem.⁸⁷ Most are hexagonal, with cross-images on three sides. The cross itself is usually of the one type (a latin cross with flared arms), whereas the base into which it is set takes a variety of forms. In a detailed discussion of these vessels, Barag argues convincingly that all three bases are variant forms of the rock of Golgotha.⁸⁸ He interprets the first base, a series of graduated horizontal bars beneath the cross, as a reference to the steps cut into the rock; the second base, a series of concentric circles in the centre of which the foot of the cross is embedded, as a symbolic representation of the Golgotha rock as the 'omphalos' or navel of the world;⁸⁹ and the third base, which has sprouting leaves from which the cross springs, as an image of the cross as the Tree of Life, planted in Paradise — Paradise here symbolically equated with the Rock of Golgotha.⁹⁰

Barag does however strongly suggest that the cross depicted here is Theodosius II's monument, and says that pilgrims in the 6th century

84. Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 32: '... the Cross and the Lamb testifying him as the sacred sacrificed One . . . ' (tr. Goldschmidt, *Churches*, 39).

85. The link between apse mosaic and high altar is made explicit in Paulinus' iconography and in his accounts of the decoration of his churches at Nola and Fundi (*Ep.* 32).

86. For a discussion of the dating of the glass vessels, see Barag, 'Glass Vessels', esp. 36, 48.

87. On their place of origin, see Barag, *ibid.*, 48.

88. *Ibid.*, esp. 41-44.

89. cf. Cyril, *Catech.* 13.28 (*PG* 33, c.805), in which Golgotha is called the centre of the earth.

90. cf. the ampulla images discussed above, in which the Four Rivers of Paradise flow down the rock of Golgotha from the foot of the cross.

'mention the steps leading to the cross' on Golgotha.⁹¹ This is not strictly true: the pilgrims mention the steps, but they do not say that the steps lead to any kind of cross on the top.⁹² The real significance of these steps is that they were believed to be original — that is, the ones Christ climbed to his crucifixion⁹³ — and so they were an integral part of the locus. If contemporary pilgrims mention the steps, but not a monumental cross, then it seems appropriate to interpret the first image as one more variant of the True Cross pictured in conjunction with its locus — the latter here shown in schematic form, as a set of steps beneath the cross. Similarly, the second image — the cross on the omphalos — locates the relic of the True Cross on Golgotha; which, as a contemporary poem puts it, in a clear *verbal* linking of relic and locus, is:

the navel-point of the earth, that divine rock
in which was fixed the wood
which undid the curse of the tree.⁹⁴

And the third image, where the cross grows from a living plant, can

91. *Ibid.*, 39-41. Whilst Barag does not claim that the cross on the glass vessels is necessarily a *Theodosian* monumental cross, he does state that the cross on a stepped base is 'identified with the cross actually standing on Golgotha until 614', adding that this and the other two variants — the cross on the omphalos, and the leaved cross — 'represent three aspects of a single element, i.e., the Cross of Golgotha' (*ibid.*, 44); and it is clear from the context that he is here referring specifically to a supposed *monument* and not to the relic of the True Cross. Elsewhere, he states that 'The form of Theodosius' cross [i.e. the supposed monumental 'crux gemmata'] greatly influenced early Christian art even after the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 614, when this treasured symbol fell into the hands of the conquerors' (*ibid.*, 40). Whilst a great number of ceremonial artefacts were looted at this time, including crosses, the 'treasured symbol' which mattered most to the Christians was the relic of the True Cross, carried off by the Persians (who recognised its religious and also its political value as a symbol of victory), and later restored to Jerusalem by Heraclius as the crowning triumph of his campaign.

92. See e.g. the accounts of the Piacenza Pilgrim, *Itin.*, 19; and Theodosius, *De situ*, 7. These are the two sources cited by Barag ('Glass Vessels', 40) to support his claim that pilgrims mention the steps 'leading to the cross' (*ibid.*, 40, 41).

93. The Piacenza Pilgrim, *Itin.*, 19.

94. Sophronius, *Anacreonticon* 20, lines 30-32; tr. Wilkinson, *JPBC* 91.

only refer to the 'lignum vitae', which was the relic, and not a monument.⁹⁵

Conclusions

From this discussion, the main point that emerges is that the problem is as much one of interpretation as of facts. Accordingly, the texts and images in question have been treated here with more caution than is usual for the subject. The texts have also been given more weight the closer they are chronologically to what they describe: thus, for example, Theophanes' statement, dating from four centuries after the event it records, while not ignored is treated with more scepticism than Egeria's contemporary account of her visit to Jerusalem, or the *Breviarius*'s somewhat muddled but undoubtedly authentic guide to the holy places prior to the Persian invasion. These and other contemporary accounts do not provide any evidence for a monumental jewelled cross on Golgotha during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, and they should not be interpreted as 'saying' something which they are not.⁹⁶ In fact, it is not until nearly the end of the 7th century that we have the first clear and unequivocal eye-witness description of a standing cross on the Golgotha rock. This account, dictated in person to and recorded by no less a person than the abbot of Iona, comes from the pilgrim Arculf, a bishop from Gaul who visited Jerusalem about 680, well after the Persian invasion, and during the time of the Arab caliphate. Arculf saw 'a great silver cross' on top of the rock.⁹⁷ By this date, however, the Jerusalem *relic* of the True Cross

95. For contemporary beliefs about the 'lignum vitae', see e.g. Venantius Fortunatus, *Hymns* 33, 34, ed. A.S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Cambridge 1922) 165-177. On this point, Peter Brown has suggested to me that Queen Radegund's devotion to the True Cross (the reception of a fragment of which at her convent at Poitiers was the occasion for the writing of these two hymns), and her vows taken before this relic, indicate that 'choosing the cross' — in a life of religious seclusion — was identified with 'choosing life'. See also D. Talbot Rice, 'The Leaved Cross', *BS* 11 (1950) 72-81; P.A. Underwood, 'The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels', *DOP* 5 (1950) 95ff.

96. The whole question of the reliability of such texts is too complex to be dealt with here. Whether or not the texts are reliable, however, those who argue for the existence of the 'crux gemmata' have invariably employed these same texts to support their claims. If the texts are in fact unreliable, then the case for the 'crux gemmata' is even more shaky than I have suggested in this paper.

97. Adomnan, *De locis sanctis* I, v.1 (ed. L. Bieler, *CCSL* 175) 190.

had long been transferred, for safe keeping, to Constantinople, where Arculf himself venerated it in the church of Hagia Sophia on his way home to Gaul.⁹⁸ It has been suggested by some scholars that because only a silver cross was seen by Arculf, the gold and jewelled one must have been looted by the Persians in 614, and the silver cross was a replacement.⁹⁹ The silver cross may well have been a replacement, not for a previous memorial cross, but for the missing relic — as an affirmation by the local Jerusalem church of the continuing importance of the *site* of the crucifixion, even though the actual Wood of the Cross was no longer in the Holy City. The emphasis had now shifted — at least in Jerusalem — from the relic to its locus; and in a detail which could hardly be more site-specific, Arculf points out that this silver cross was fixed into the very hole in the rock, in which Christ's wooden cross had once been fixed.

We can probably never establish conclusively whether or not a monumental cross existed on Golgotha before the late 7th century when Arculf saw this great silver cross. Certainly, there is little justification for most of the claims made about the hypothetical 'crux gemmata'. What does emerge clearly, however, both in theological writings and pilgrim accounts from the mid-4th century to the early 7th, is that enormous significance was accorded to the Jerusalem relic of the True Cross, and virtually none to any memorial cross, even if one existed throughout some or all of that period. This undeniable emphasis, coupled with the widely variant forms of the cross in Early Christian iconography, argues for interpreting most of these representations as primary images of the prototype — the True Cross — which had many theological aspects, rather than as secondary images of a cruciform monument.

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98. *Ibid.*, III, iii.

99. This suggestion is made, for example, by J. Wilkinson, *JPBC* 97, n. 15; and 177.6. See also Barag, 'Glass Vessels', 40.

Appendix A

Breviarius, lines 6-10:

In introitu basilicae ipsius ad sinistram partem est cubiculus, ubi crux domini posita est. (A)*

Cubiculus ubi posita est crux domini nostri Iesu Christi. (B)*

Breviarius, lines 38-45:

Habet ostia argentea ubi fuit crux domini exposita de auro et gemmis ornata tota, caelum desuper patente. (A)*

Et ibi est exedra ubi fuit persuscitatus per quem fuit crux Christi declarata et ipsa crux est de auro et gemmas ornata et celum desuper aureum. (B)*

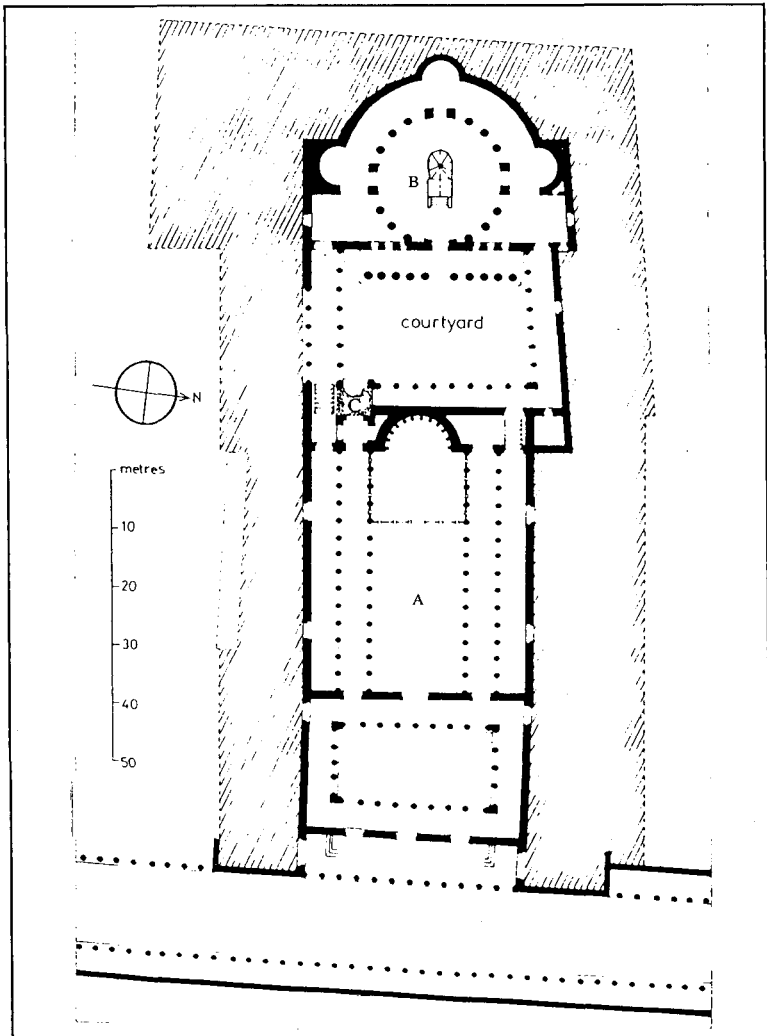
*The distinction between the variant forms, and the text used here, are from R. Weber's edition, *CCSL* 175, 105-112.

Appendix B

Plan of the main 4th century buildings on Golgotha (after Wilkinson)

A = The basilica of Constantine; B = The Anastasis rotunda;

C = The Rock of Golgotha.



Narratives in Perambulation: Poe's 'The Man of the Crowd' and Metsakes' 'Αυτόχειρ'*

GEORGIA GOTSI

An author 'των τρομακτικά αναπαραστώντων, αλλά και μετά μαθηματικής ακριβείας βαινόντων περιφήμων διηγημάτων', Edgar Allan Poe was initially introduced to the Greek public of the late nineteenth century by Roïdes, and soon became well-known through a series of translations in the contemporary press.¹ 'The Man of the Crowd' (1840) appeared in a somewhat adapted translation in the journal *Εστία* of 1890.² Five years later, Michael Metsakes, who was familiar with Poe's tales, published 'Αυτόχειρ' in the newspaper *Ακρόπολις*,³ a short story which, despite its affinities to 'The Man of the Crowd', preserves a remarkable individuality.

What rather brings these two texts together, otherwise products of two quite different cultures, is the awareness shared by their authors of the rise of a new era. Writing just before the Civil War, Poe experiences the tensions connected with the upsurge of Jacksonian democracy. The period witnessed an unprecedented increase in urban

*An earlier draft was presented at the modern Greek seminar of King's College London, and I am grateful to the audience, and in particular to Dr. David Ricks, for useful comments. I also wish to thank the London Hellenic Society for awarding this paper the 1994 postgraduate prize as well as the State Scholarship Foundation of Greece and the British Academy for supporting financially my research.

1. For this characterisation by Palamas see *Εμπρός*, 23.6.1918.

2. Edgar Poe, 'Ο άνθρωπος του πλήθους. Διήγημα', trans. K.I. Prassas, *Εστία* 2 45 (1890) 297-301. For a bibliography of Poe translations in Greece see G.K. Katsimbales, *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία 'Ενγκαρ Πόε'*, (Athens, 2nd edition 1959).

3. See for instance Metsakes' reference to Poe in 'Εν Αθηναϊκόν μυθιστόρημα' in Michael Metsakes, *Το έργο του, Εισαγωγή-Σχόλια-Επιμέλεια Μ. Peranthes* (Athens 1956) 332-347 (p.343). Romos Filyras, 'Φιλολογικά έργα Μ. Μητσάκη', *Νέα Ελλάς*, 8.10.1920 also mentions that Metsakes had translated Poe's *The Gold-bug*.

population following the transformation of the United States from an agricultural country into a commercial and industrial one. The American dream of freedom and justice had to come to terms with the fear of the mob, economic inequality, and man's dependence on the machine. Sensitive to the new cultural situation which was beginning to emerge in his country, Poe deplores America's increasing industrialisation and is preoccupied with the disintegration of personality it generates. Poe's awareness of the new age is apparent in 'The Man of the Crowd', a text noticed by both Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin for its anticipation of modernity.

By contrast, Greek society of the 1890s, still under formation, oscillates between irredentism and the need for industrialisation. Although it is on a smaller scale, the process of urbanisation is also rapid in Greece and intimately associated with the crudities, injustices and fluctuations of prosperity characteristic of a capitalist order. Patras constitutes a characteristic case: as a port and the main centre of the currant trade it participated from quite early on in the new economic system and accordingly developed a distinct urban character.⁴ If in 'Αυτόχειρ' Metsakes dramatises the problem of dehumanisation, the choice of Patras as a narrative space indicates his own awareness of the brutality of the new social world.

The sensitivity to these social conditions constitutes a common framework for the two authors; what fosters, though, a parallel examination of their texts is the remarkably similar way they choose to transcribe the experiencing of this new reality. In each of these texts a first-person narrator describes the unusual circumstances which led him, in some indefinite past, to wander day and night through a city, London and Patras respectively. The perambulation, seemingly initiated by the narrator's desire to produce meaning out of a perplexing text with which he is presented, is finally interrupted by his ultimate failure in this reading process.

Here, I set out to show how these two texts anticipate the modernist concern with the disruption between visual perception and knowledge

4. See Nikos Bakounakes, *Πάτρα: Μία ελληνική πρωτεύουσα στον 19ο αιώνα, 1828-1869* (Athens, 2nd edition 1995).

and with the constant deferment of meaning. In the case of Poe, criticism has already testified to the proleptic and innovative character of his fiction, which challenges the possibility of apprehending reality in order to demonstrate the arbitrariness of the link between word and world.⁵ In 'The Man of the Crowd' this arbitrariness is presented through the disjunction between vision and interpretation. On the other hand, the neglected Metsakes should be considered among those Greek authors of the 1880s who played around the conventions of realist fiction.⁶ Perceived as a somewhat peculiar case by his contemporaries, Metsakes worked as a journalist for the newspapers and periodicals where he published his literary texts. His prose fiction comprises mostly of short pieces, some of which present snapshots from the Athenian public life mingling queerly naturalistic accuracy with lyric sensitivity, while other poetic narratives convey impressions of a landscape or a phenomenon, often in the aesthetic mode. A metaphysical anxiety emerging from his short fiction questions the essence of human existence and challenges the validity of an objective reality. In 'Αυτόχειρ' the reader once again discovers the impossibility of definite knowledge: the narrative demonstrates that wandering for the purpose of capturing an ultimate truth, or a final meaning, is endless. In both texts, as will be argued, 'δι-ήγησις' (narrative), the going through, is replaced by 'περι-ήγησις' (perambulation), a continuous circling around an absent centre, both spatial and textual.

In general throughout Europe, with the formation of urban centres, the city started becoming the object of various, mainly representational urban genres: survey books, guides, sketches. Most commonly,

5. See, for instance, the studies by John T. Irwin, *American Hieroglyphics* (New Haven-London 1980) and Michael J.S. Williams, *A World of Words. Language and Displacement in the Fiction of Edgar Allan Poe* (Durham-London 1988) as well as the discussions of Lacan, Derrida and Barbara Johnson on 'The Purloined Letter' in John P. Muller and William J. Richardson, eds., *The Purloined Poe. Lacan, Derrida & Psychoanalytic Reading* (Baltimore-London 1988). Cf. also John Rignall's reading of 'The Man of the Crowd' in *Realist Fiction and the Strolling Spectator* (London-New York 1988) 9-19.

6. For an overview of Metsakes' fiction see, Georgia Gotsi, 'Μιχαήλ Μητσάκης' in *Η παλαιότερη πεζογραφία μας. Από τις αρχές της ως τον πρώτο παγκόσμιο πόλεμο*. Vol. 6 (Athens 1996).

a narrated perambulation within a city aimed to inform the readers of the peculiarities and sights of either known or inaccessible places. Discussions of the modern city have shown that the fascinating yet threatening nature of the new, uncontrollably expanding, urban centres stimulated a wish for their 'naturalisation'. The practice of urban exploration, observes Judith R. Walkowitz, presupposed the rationalist sensibility of a privileged bourgeois male subject who had a stable identity and was 'capable through reason and its "science" of establishing a reliable and universal knowledge of "man" and his world'.⁷ In its early artistic and literary representations the city was, then, confronted as a natural object, clearly shaped and accessible; its organisation into a set of neighbourhoods and locales and the classification of its population into a typology of characters created the effect of an ordered urban entity.⁸

Thus, Poe writes within a long tradition of an urban spectatorial literature culminating in Dickens' *Sketches by Boz* (1836-7), a text which treats the city and its crowds as a recognisable and decipherable entity.⁹ Metsakes, too, writes at a period when short travel narratives develop in the context of a general effort to better acquaint the Greek readers with their own country.¹⁰ In the contemporary press there abound series of articles in which the writer describes in either

7. See Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight. Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London 1992) 16.

8. See among others Dana Brand, *The Spectator and the City in Nineteenth Century American Literature* (Cambridge 1991) 41-63 and Robert H. Byer, 'Mysteries of the city: A Reading of Poe's "The Man of the Crowd"' in *Ideology and Classic American Literature*, eds. Sacvan Bercovitch and Myra Jehlen (Cambridge 1986) 221-246 (p.222). Nevertheless, the dominant representations of public urban landscape were reworked later on in the century. Cf. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 38, who notices how an epistemological crisis in the 1880s led authors such as George Gissing, R.L. Stevenson, and Henry James to 'produce meditations on London that emphasised fragmentation and introspection'.

9. Cf. Brand, *The Spectator and the City*, 48-52.

10. Cf. Peter Mackridge, 'The Textualization of Place in Greek Fiction 1883-1903', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 2 2 (1992) 148-68 (p.149). In 'Αυτόχειρ' the association with travel literature is highlighted by the general title under which the text appeared: *Ταξιδιωτικαὶ Σημειώσεις. Εικόνες καὶ Σκηναί*. In this same series in *Ακρόπολις* of January 1895, Metsakes published ten more texts. However, in Metsakes' manuscripts, two of these texts, 'Αυτόχειρ' and 'Στο βαπόρι' are found under the altered general title: *Σημειώσεις Ταξιδιωτοῦ*. See Despina Drakopoulou, 'Μιχαὴλ Μητσάκης: "Ο Αόρατος"', *Μολυβδοκονδυλοπελεκητής* 1 (1989) 96-105 (pp.97-8).

a literary or an essayistic manner, and often in a lighthearted tone, his impressions of places visited. Although a rural town or a village constitute the preferred subject matter, the city, usually Athens, with its diversity of locales and vivid social life, often becomes the topic of this sort of narrative. Historical and geographical information is mixed with the writer's personal associations and memories, the outlining of vignettes typical of the place described, graphic descriptions and dramatised characterisation. In the form of guided tours which combine documentation with diversion and instruction, these texts often present the place visited as an accumulation of sights, and portray its inhabitants through certain representative cases.¹¹

In this context of urban representation, observation is associated with knowing: viewing takes the form of reading and understanding the urban and the urbanite. In the texts under discussion such an identification of viewing and knowing is initially attested by the two narrators. At the outset of 'The Man of the Crowd' the narrator is seated at the window of a London coffee-house observing the details of his setting. As a convalescent he is experiencing a peculiar mood of alertness, of the 'keenest appetency': to account for it he claims that the film that covered his mental vision has been removed and his intellect 'electrified'.¹² Paradoxically, it is in this position of self-asserted potency that his gaze is actually orientated by and filtered through a literal screen. The pane of the window constitutes a transparency which both separates and protects him on the inside from the life of the street outside. This delimited and clear mirroring of the passing show outside will later prove to be distorting.

11. For instance, in *Ακρόπολις* (July-August 1894) Αθηναίος holds the columns 'Και ολίγον εντός των Αθηνών' where he recounts his impressions of Athenian life. Another example of short survey texts on urban life is the series of 'Αθηναϊκοί περίπατοι' by Palamas, first published in *Μη Χάνεσαι* of 1882, by Gerasimos Vokos, published in *Εστία* of 1895 and by Roides, first published in *Εστία* of 1896. See now Kostas Palamas, 'Αρθρα και Χρονογραφήματα, Φιλολογική επιμέλεια D.P. Synadinos and K.G. Kassines, 1 (Athens 1990) and Emmanouel Roides, 'Απαντα, Φιλολογική επιμέλεια Alkes Aggelou, 5 (Athens 1978).

12. All quotations and references to 'The Man of the Crowd' are to: Edgar Allan Poe, *Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. T.O. Mabbot, 3 vols. See vol. 2, *Tales and Sketches 1831-42* (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1978) 505-18 (p.507).

The development of the narrator's observations follows a pattern evolving with the dwindling of daylight. The narrator initially describes his leisurely speculation about his surroundings as 'a calm but inquisitive interest' that corresponds to his mood of distracted idleness. Before long, however, he engages in a contemplation of the crowd that is far too searching and meditative to be the product of a vague interest: 'Soon, however, I descended to details, and regarded with minute interest the innumerable varieties of figure, dress, air, gait, visage, and expression of countenance.'¹³ As Robert H. Byer observes, this 'descent to details defines a significant shift in the narrator's relation to the crowd,' the narrator being now compelled to identify it, to classify it, and finally to reconstruct its history.¹⁴

At first, based on external traits and behavioural patterns, he places people accordingly in social classes, thus, representing society as a fixed, hierarchically ordered model. Despite its variety, the crowd succumbs to the uniformity of a taxonomy. Gradually, however, the narrator's observations become more intense, yet at the same time more sketchy. As natural illumination fades, being replaced by the artificial light of the gas lamps, the image of the city and the faces of its people become mysterious and uncanny. Now the narrator's gaze focuses on individual physiognomies rather than 'aggregate relations' and his vision dims. With the contours of their figures less determined, the drunkards, the beggars, the prostitutes become less easy to arrange in distinctive, clearly defined groups. These darker faces challenge the previous immediacy between vision and interpretation, but do not abolish it; in his presumption that, in a rapid development of images he can read the 'history of long years',¹⁵ the narrator resembles the omniscient seer of realist fiction who produces the narrative of life inspected.

This perspective changes only when, caught by the unsettling sight of an old man, the narrator abandons his window seat to follow him

13. Poe, 'The Man of the Crowd', 507.

14. Byer, 'Mysteries of the city', 236.

15. Poe, 'The Man of the Crowd', 507, 511.

into the fluctuating crowd, within the space and time of the city. Walter Benjamin contrasted these two ways of seeing when he compared 'The Man of the Crowd' with E.T.A. Hoffmann's 'Des Vetters Eckfenster' (1822). In the latter text a paralysed writer looks down from his window at a busy market-square in Berlin, producing fiction in an attempt to make sense of what he sees. In Benjamin's account of the two stories the fixed point of view of the recording produces 'a multiplicity of little genre pictures which in their totality constitute an album of coloured engravings; on the other side there is a view which would be capable of inspiring a great etcher — an enormous crowd in which no one is quite transparent or quite opaque to all others.'¹⁶ For Benjamin, the difference between a framed and a moving gaze entails a distinction between becoming entangled in the urban in order to capture its reality and perceiving it at a distance as a set of fragments.

In 'Αυτόχειρ', the distinction drawn between these two ways of appreciating reality takes a different route. The main nocturnal perambulation of the narrator is circumscribed by two panoramic vistas from the open window of his hotel room. Standing there, the narrator occupies a detached perspective, as Poe's narrator initially does. He perceives the surrounding landscape as a motionless and unified entity, the difference being that in this case the landscape is mainly geographical rather than social:

Μέσα στη νύχτα, η οποία πλέον ήρχετο, εκτείνετο εις μαύρην λειότητα, ευρεία, η ακύμαντος επιφάνεια της θαλάσσης, ακίνητα τα πέραν βουνά, ανώρθωναν τας σκιώδεις κατατομάς των, αι στέγαι των πέριξ οίκων συνεχόντο εις επίπεδον σκοτεινόν, . . .¹⁷

Found either on the outskirts of the upper part of the city or viewed from the high level of the third floor window, natural landscape is separated from urban space. The descent into the urban indicates

16. Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London 1973) 49.

17. Quotations and references to 'Αυτόχειρ' are to: Michael Metsakes, *Πεζογραφήματα* (Athens 1988) 271.

a closer focus of viewing and to some extent a different object of speculation: upon entering the city, the narrator engages in the bustling life of the urban centre. The different way of looking embedded in the mode of perambulation entails a different consideration of social reality which will come to repudiate its previous comprehensive image. As we shall see, what both texts ultimately put in question is the very possibility of capturing reality.

The perambulation within the city amounts to a multifaceted interpretative activity. The narrator-‘flâneur’ wanders its streets in an attempt to identify the city, the other person whose steps he follows, and in the final analysis himself. The identification of the perambulation with a reading process is indicated by the circumstances of the narrator’s insertion into the crowd and the outside world. In ‘The Man of the Crowd’ the narrator is struck by the ‘absolute idiosyncrasy’ (sic) of an old man’s countenance, a sight that arouses in him ‘a craving desire to keep the man in view — to know more of him’. The person stands in front of him as a cipher out of which he is compelled to extract a truthful narrative, the history of the person’s identity: “‘How wild a *history*,” I said to myself, “is *written* within that bosom!’”¹⁸ In ‘Αυτόχειρ’, the narrator is perplexed by the enigma of a literal message left by an unknown man who committed suicide the previous day: ‘Αυτοκτονώ. Ας μην ενοχληθῇ κανείς’.¹⁹

Bewildered by his immediate inability to produce meaning out of a text, the narrator sets off on a walk in an attempt to interpret it. Poe’s narrator decides to pursue the stranger in order to trace his identity; Metsakes’ narrator wanders through Patras in an unconscious effort to solve the puzzle posed by the dead man. Each assumes the role of a reluctant detective who rambles around in order to unravel a mystery. The shock of unreadability violently transforms the narrator from a detached spectator of the crowd to a member of it, from a motionless viewer to a ‘flâneur’. The charm of an anodyne detachment has been replaced by the momentum of actual involvement.

18. Poe, ‘The Man of the Crowd’, 511.

19. Metsakes, ‘Αυτόχειρ’, 270.

This disturbing experience of mingling with the urban effects, first, a consideration of subjectivity and, secondly, a review of the city, both of which respond to the narrator's primary desire for access to signification. Critics have already noted, with reference to each story, the similarities between the narrator, on the one hand, and the subject of his pursuit, on the other. Each narrator is deprived of identity and history, just like the strangers whose steps they consistently retrace. In 'Αυτόχειρ' the narrator shares his surname with the author. This surname is the trait distinguishing him from the suicide as he, like the suicide, arrives in Patras for reasons that remain unknown, stays at a hotel and spends a day and a night wandering around. Maronites argues of Metsakes' narrator that

ο αφηγητής-περιγηγητής πρέπει να διαβαστεί τελικά ως επίδοξος αυτόχειρας. Ο αυτοκτόνος ήρωας της νουβέλας και ο συντάκτης της τείνουν έτσι να ταυτιστούν: ο δεύτερος μεταβάλλεται σε προβολή του πρώτου, που λειτουργεί περίπου ως πρότυπό του.²⁰

Despite their divergent accounts of it, critics of 'The Man of the Crowd' have in an analogous manner explained the narrator's fanatical preoccupation with the old man as a desperate attempt to recapture his own identity.²¹ Having no conspicuous life of their own, the narrators constitute so to speak 'floating signifiers', who try to find their signified so as to construct a face of their own. This complementary half is personalised in the Other, the man of the crowd or the suicide, who figures as the narrator's double.

Since the recourse to the Other contains an implicit yearning for self-identification, the narrator's inability either to reconstruct the wild history written in the stranger's bosom or to decipher the violently elliptical phrase written by the suicide suggests his own failure to acquire a personal identity. The outcome of the pursuit is in each

20. D.N. Maronites, 'Η περιύληση ενός αυτόχειρα', in *Διαλέξεις* (Athens 1992) 170-82 (p.177).

21. See Dennis Grunes, 'Fraternal Hopes Dashed: Poe's "The Man of the Crowd"', *College Language Association Journal* 25 3 (1982) 348-58 (p.351); J. Gerald Kennedy, *Poe, Death and the Life of Writing* (New Haven-London 1987) 118; Monika M. Elbert, '"The Man of the Crowd" and the Man Outside the Crowd: Poe's Narrator and the Democratic Reader', *Modern Language Studies* 21 4 (1991) 16-30 (pp.19-21).

case nothing but a rhetorical ruse where the narrator seeks justification for his incapacity to recognise his double. Poe's narrator implies that the old man is a criminal while *Metsakes'* narrator pretends to consider the suicide an imbecile. Such reassuring identifications seek in vain to construct a physiognomy for the Other who yet remains impenetrable. The questioning may be suspended as the perambulation comes to a temporary end but the feeling of uneasiness is always present. Poe's narrator resorts to a parable to account for his bewilderment: 'The worst heart of the world is a grosser book than the *Hortulus Animae*, and perhaps it is but one of the great mercies of God that "er lasst sich nicht lesen"'.²² In a desperate attempt to avoid the implications of his confusion, the narrator invokes the code of morality only to justify his inability to read as a prohibition from indecent readings. The insomnia of *Metsakes'* narrator demonstrates how affective the note of the suicide really was, since its puzzle fascinated him to the point of obsession.

The narrator's failure to recognise his double and subsequently to identify his self is actuated by the existence of language. As long as the other being has been replaced by the written word, its personal identity amounts to a narrative. The suicide is virtually absent, existing only through his 'τελευταία εκδήλωσις μιας ζωής',²³ a short note. The old man, though present, is equated with a book that will not permit itself to be read. The signified sought by the narrator in order to construct his self identity is replaced by another signifier, the signified of which remains to be found in a constant deferment of final and total signification.

If the city is the space where each narrator seeks to satisfy his desire for knowledge of a subject, his own or the Other's, it constitutes, at the same time, an object open to inspection in itself. Parallel to self-identification, the identification of the city is a second facet of the narrator's interpretative activity. In their strolling the narrators experience the totality of urban life: they frequent its crowded,

22. Poe, 'The Man of the Crowd', 515.

23. *Metsakes*, 'Αυτόχειρ', 270.

commercial and fashionable areas, but also visit its most infamous locales. Their perambulation seems to follow the wish for 'naturalisation' marking the city as a readable map. As Byer has argued, the wayward movements of the old man provide 'a formal ordering of the city'.²⁴ Similarly, the route of the narrator — 'flâneur' of 'Αυτόχειρ' designs a cartography of Patras signposted by the Castle, the pier, St. George's square, St. Andrew's street, Psela Alonia square and the road along the coast.²⁵ Through compression and condensation, the city is encompassed as a whole whose diverse districts and locales are organised in sequence. This structuring of the city follows a circular rather than a linear pattern, modelled as it is upon the narrator's itinerary. In both texts, each narrator's circuits originate and end in a central spot to which he constantly returns during the perambulation. This spot is occupied by a hotel, the D--- Hotel, the Grande Bretagne Hotel or 'το ξενοδοχείον, όπου έκειτο το πτώμα'. A place of transitory sojourn, the hotel connotes absence in terms of a lack of constant, recognisable presence. In 'The Man of the Crowd' this absence is conveyed by the material lack of the letters that form the name of the Hotel and their replacement by dashes. In 'Αυτόχειρ' the hotel coincides with the grave; by enclosing death, it becomes the locus of ultimate absence. As an absent entity, it defies recognition:

Σταμάτησα δύο-τρεις που ήύρα μπρός μου, ερωτών αυτούς πού έγινε η αυτοκτονία· διότι ήμην περίεργος να ιδώ τι όψιν καν θα είχε το ξενοδοχείον όπου έγινε το πράγμα· μα κανείς δεν ήξερε να μου απαντήσει.²⁶

Paradoxically, each perambulation develops into a perpetual milling around a vacuum.

The initial consideration of the city as a spatial unity is supplemented by its treatment as a temporal entity. The dynamic and ephemeral character of urban life seems frozen into a graspable process. The immutability of the natural circle sets up a parallel with the ceaseless

24. Byer, 'Mysteries of the city', 238.

25. A look at the actual map of Patras shows that, in his journeys, the narrator covers the whole of the city proper.

26. Metsakes, 'Αυτόχειρ', 278.

repetitive movements of the wanderers from morning to night to the next morning. On the one hand, each perambulation constitutes a complete temporal sequence, which in 'The Man of the Crowd' is separated and clearly distinguished from the indeterminate time of the narrator's illness which precedes and follows it; on the other hand, as the two narrators ramble, retracing their steps, they organise their perambulation in a pattern of consecutive circles reminiscent of the eternal succession of time units.

Moreover, in 'Αυτόχειρ' this movement of perambulation corresponds perfectly with both the tense of the narrative and the temporal pattern of the narration. The narrator recounts his impressions of Patras in a past continuous tense, endowing the activities of its dwellers, the physiognomy of spaces and the figure of objects with a repetitive nature. The life of the city, together with the changes it undergoes in the passing of the day, constitutes a representative sample of an eternal process; each moment described stands for all these moments. Even the narrator's own activity is subject to this principle. The visit described is one of several past visits to Patras, while the act of its narration is situated in the time of the present visit: 'Την ημέραν αυτήν, όπως τώρα απaráλλαχτα, δεν ηξεύρω πλέον πώς και τί, επερνούσ' από τας Πάτρας'. Apart from the mere fact of the visit, the narrator's movements — his arrival in the city, the choice of a hotel, the meeting with his friends and his wanderings — repeat his own customary behaviour as a traveller as well as the activity of the suicide:

. . . ήρθε χθες νύχτα, άφησε τη βαλίτσα του κ'εβγήκε, εγύρισε αργά, κοιμήθηκε, το πρωί ζήτησε τον καφέ του, ήσυχος, το εξωτερικό του δεν έδειχνε τίποτε, ξαναβγήκε, έκαμε έναν περίπατο προς της Ιτιές, το μεσημέρι έφαγε σ' ένα άλλο ξενοδοχείο, εγύρισε κατά της δύο, εχαιρέτισε το παιδί που ήτον στην πόρτα, ανέβηκε στην κάμαρα του, εκλείστηκε, και ύστερ' από λίγο άκουσαν την πιστολιά . . .²⁷

The coincidence of the perambulation's repetitive, natural pace with the tense of the events narrated or things described is complemented

27. Metsakes, 'Αυτόχειρ', 266, 269.

by the progress of the narration which, in its turn, evolves according to the same pattern of consecutive circles, now constituted by words stated and restated in similar ways. Organised according to a musical pattern of high and low notes, the narrative oscillates between the initial high view of the city as observed from the castle to a lower view of the open sea and its mountainous background, framed by the open window of the narrator's hotel, back to a high view of the nocturnal cityscape, and finally to an early morning view of the peaceful sea seen from the same window. These panoramas are mediated by reiterated descriptions of the streets, the central square and the pier, all seen at various moments of the day and according to different psychological dispositions. Moreover, at the end of each route described in detail during the perambulation, the narrator recounts his impressions, as he imagines the suicide's having followed the same route. Rephrasing the suicide's note, the narrator questions — 'Μήπως ήθελε να ενοχληθούν . . .' — and rejects — 'Δεν είχα ν ενοχληθή . . .' — the possibility that the subjects he encountered and the objects he observed might have been annoyed by the death of a transient visitor.

Nevertheless, as suggested earlier on, both urban space and time totally fail to be captured by this structure imposed by the subject's 'flânerie', back and forth. In 'The Man of the Crowd', Byer has noted, 'the specific pattern of shifting densities and locales is socially determined'.²⁸ The formal ordering of the city is in fact a result of the wanderer's accidental ramble. The crowd's sense of time, which the narrator shares, is rather social than natural, as it organises its activity in various rhythms regulated by habit, mood, or pleasure. Since the essence of the viewed landscape is transformed when seen in a different light, on each of his routes the narrator forms a different impression of the locale, though its constituents remain unchanged: ' . . . we emerged once more upon the great thoroughfare whence we had started — the street of the D--- Hotel. It no longer wore, however, the same aspect. It was still brilliant with gas; but the rain fell fiercely, and there were few persons to be seen'.²⁹ This becomes

28. Byer, 'Mysteries of the city', 234.

29. Poe, 'The Man of the Crowd', 513-4.

clearer still in 'Αυτόχειρ', where the narrator insists on describing in detail the same spots as his steps bring him back to them:

Και μετά πέντε-δέκα βήματα, δια του πλαγίου δρόμου έβγαينا στην οδόν του Αγ. Ανδρέου. Εις τα μπακάλικά η κίνησις είχε πλέον λιγοστέψη αισθητώως, οι πλείστοι των αστών θα είχαν πάη από ώρα εις τα σπήτια των, φέροντες τα οψώνιά των, και μόνον μερικοί βραδύνοντες ακόμη έκαμπαν ανερχόμενοι τους κοντινούς δρόμους.³⁰

The mere materiality of the streets, houses and squares is indeed inviolate, but their impact upon the eye of the stroller varies significantly.

The image of the city emerging from the narratives constitutes a textual transposition of an Impressionist painting like those by Monet and Pissarro where the same landscape is studied under the effects of different lights. If the aim of this technique is to capture 'l'impression d'ensemble' of a landscape, its outline never really appears, as it is drowned in a daze of colours and indistinct brushstrokes. Like an Impressionist painter, the narrator provides the reader not with an accurate view of the city but with the individualised, original impression he derives from it at a particular moment.³¹ This new reading of the city and its crowds shows that urban life can no longer be contained within a frame.³² It ceases to be a recognisable structure of the visible and comes to be subject to the partiality of the walking subject's vision. The experience of immediate proximity, where the confusion of the crowd pefigures the narrator's own confusion, transforms seeing. In 'The Man of the Crowd' the presumptuous clairvoyance of the narrator is destroyed by the necessary incompleteness of his narrowly focused gaze while in

30. Metsakes, 'Αυτόχειρ', 229.

31. The impressionistic technique of the narrative draws attention to the issue of the means of arriving at knowledge by suggesting the dominance of viewpoint over material reality. In this context both texts foreground the preoccupation of literary impressionists at the beginnings of the twentieth century with the importance of the perceiving consciousness and the phenomenological relation of subject to object.

32. Metsakes' *Αθηναϊκαί Σελίδες* as a whole also challenges the possibility of a totalistic perception of the city.

‘Αυτόχειρ’ the panoramic delight of the traveller’s view is annulled by the anxiety of an inquisitive eye.

Not only does the city evade classification, as its concreteness is subverted by a subjective sense of space and time, but it also resists comprehension, as it presents the narrator, who tries to decipher it, with an impenetrable materiality. If in conventional urban representations, the mechanical regularity of urban life contributes to the process of its naturalisation, Poe’s and Metsakes’ texts enact this process in order to undermine its comforting. In ‘The Man of the Crowd’, the crowd is an amorphous moving mass whose secrets remain as unknown to the narrator as the history of the old man. Urban life submits its subjects to the paradox of physical proximity and psychological distance. It is in this context that Byer sees Poe’s crowd ‘as the perverse double of nature’:³³ both the crowd and nature assume the form of a mute materiality, the former by its opacity, the latter by its momentous immutability.

In ‘Αυτόχειρ’, the laboriously repetitive narrative movement which, on one level, organises urban life, approximates it, on a second level, to a nature perceived as deadly and mute. Despite the descriptive abundance of the narrative, the city’s identity remains cryptic. The evasive essence of the city is equivalent to what Barthes calls ‘le mensonge métonymique’.³⁴ The text moves on metonymically as one description generates the next, as adjectives are laboriously extended and one sentence amended by more specific ones in an orchestrated effort to create a total sense, a wholeness.³⁵ This continuously advancing movement is, however, constantly annulled by repetition and synonymy. The proliferation of adjectives promising

33. Byer, ‘Mysteries of the city’, 235.

34. Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (Paris 1970) 168.

35. Though it is not the issue of this article, it should be noted that the meandering of the phrase combined with the arrangement of the narrative on modulations of a key theme create a musical prose according to the contemporary precepts of the Symbolists. In ‘Αυτόχειρ’ the organisation of the narrative on a musical pattern is poignant — as Maronites, ‘Η περιήγηση ενός αυτόχειρα’, 178, was the first to notice — while musicality, both as a structural element and thematic motif imbues many of the *Αθηναϊκαί Σελίδες*; in all cases it exemplifies Metsakes’ wish to write a ‘ποιητικήν πεζογραφίαν’. See Metsakes, ‘Ένα γράμμα και μία “μετάφρασις”’ in *Το έργο του*, 233-8 (236).

to describe the city more fully, constantly defers reference back to a total image, to a final resuming panorama. It is characteristic that the different locales visited and repeatedly described by the narrator remain unrelated to each other, making it hard for the reader to draw the lines connecting them on a map.

The narrative is, moreover, underpinned by a metaphysical sense of time which assimilates human affairs to natural phenomena, presenting them as unalterable and constant.³⁶ The beginning and the end of the story underline this principle of the absolute and eternal immutability of life. In the last sentence the absolute regularity of nature incorporates the ultimate lack of duration and change found only in death. This quality of non-existence shared by nature, the suicide, a city 'ομοιόμορφα και απαραμίλλως αναλλοίωτα' represented, is further illustrated by a choice of similar descriptive terms. The spectacle 'της αμόρφου μάζας της μισοκοιμωμένης τέλος πόλεως, [...] της απολύτου ηρεμίας της θαλάσσης, [...] της βαθυτάτης ακινησίας και [...] της αδιαλείπτου σιγής των απέναντι βουνών' reminds the narrator of the miserable dead man who he had previously imagined lying in a similarly depicted setting: 'Ήρεμον και άφωνον, και σκοτεινόν, ορθοστατούσεν επί της θέσεώς του, απαθώς αποβλέπον προς την οδόν [...]. Παραμέσα θα έκειτο βέβαια το πτώμα, δύσμορφος σωρός, ακίνητος, . . .'.³⁷ The suicide and the city lack a distinctive form of their own, therefore they remain faceless and unrecognisable.

Such uniformity and regularity of the city and its crowds reveals an internal dullness, and points to the tragic idleness and indifference of mankind: 'Όσάν να ενωχλείτο ποτέ κανείς στον κόσμο . . .'. The anonymity of the texts' 'flâneurs' among the multitude, the incapacity of each narrator to understand the other person whose steps he follows and to master the city conveys the experience of rootlessness of the individual at the mercy of urban pressures. The

36. The tragic equation of human life in its variety with a physical phenomenon is also the subject of 'Στο βαπόρι'. In both texts, as actuality disintegrates into a set of repeated movements and fragmented discussions, human life loses its momentum and becomes meaningless.

37. Metsakes, 'Αυτόχειρ', 281, 279.

animosity imposed in human relations by the new commercial urban space is exemplified in 'Αυτόχειρ' by the fragmented dialogues of its dwellers as reported by the narrator: — Ένας κεφαλαιούχος δεν ημπορεί, κύριε, να εμπιστευθή τα κεφάλαιά του κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπον. [...] —Θέλεις, φίλε μου, να σ' εκτιμάη και να σ' αγαπάη ο άλλος; Ναν του κάνης κακό! . . .'³⁸ In analogous terms, Benjamin regarded the man of the crowd as a foreshadowing of the individual's obliteration within capitalist society. For Benjamin the 'flâneur' is reduced to a commodity as he abandons himself to the open market of the city. The mechanical routine of the crowd emulated the 'feverish pace of material production along with the business forms that go with it'. As someone abandoned in the crowd, the 'flâneur' surrenders to 'the intoxication of the commodity around which surges the stream of consumers'.³⁹ Fascinated by the glamour of the products displayed and luxurious sights, and empathising with the people surrounding him, the 'flâneur' gradually loses his own identity. Although the narrator in 'The Man of the Crowd' is more a detective than a 'flâneur', since he walks in pursuit of a specific aim, Benjamin's account illustrates the loss of human value as effected in the text. The old man's aimless wanderings in a bazaar 'among the host of buyers and sellers'⁴⁰ suggest the commodification of the individual in the urban commercial world.

Accordingly, within the anonymous throng of the city, each narrator becomes an object for speculation which may be invested with the use a probable consumer could ascribe to it. He is equally subjected to the gaze of numerous other passers-by possibly also impelled to fabricate his personality. 'Ce grand malheur, de ne pouvoir être seul' epitomises the tragically ironic status of the urban dweller who has to endure his solitude amidst the multiplicity of others. The perfect fulfilment of the suicide's wish 'Ας μην ενοχληθῇ κανείς' verifies the validity of the statement.

38. Metsakes, 'Αυτόχειρ', 277, 280. Although the narrator does not comment on the main economic activity of the city, the description of the deserted and silent docklands with the scales for the weighing of the raisins and the packing cases for their transportation hints at its strongly commercialised character.

39. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, 53, 55.

40. Poe, 'The Man of the Crowd', 513. Cf. Metsakes, 'Αυτόχειρ', 274-5, 279.

Subtle references to the world of performance make a further allusion to the liquidation of identity into a mere spectacle. In 'The Man of the Crowd', the old man rushes amidst the audience of a closing theatre or the customers of a gin-shop in a desperate attempt to annihilate himself among a blur of faces. Both images display his detachment from his fellow men as they all are, despite their insulation into an interior space, the unconnected members of a large audience. Having no life of their own, the narrator and the old man struggle to create it through sympathetic projection to the other persons viewed. In the 'Αυτόχειρ' the clownish gesture of the woman in a café-chantant as she sings in French illustrates the mocking of personal identity. By repeatedly invoking the gaze of the other, the artist, who, it is implied is a prostitute, claims recognition from others. As a solitary figure emblematic of urban alienation and dehumanisation the prostitute has been often considered as the complementary image of the male spectator.⁴¹ Here, she becomes what others see — or buy — in her eyes: 'Regardez-moi dans l'oeil, dans l'oeil, dans l'oeil'. The twice repeated verse of the woman, an artist herself like the author-narrator, reflects upon the dependence of the subject's I on the eye of the Other.⁴²

In 'Les fous' (1861), Baudelaire explicated that it is exactly this experience of an ontological void which becomes the source of creativity for the poet — 'flâneur'. Here, the woman's song vocalises this repetitive act of voyeurism which, as acted out by the author-narrator, results in the production of the text. The circling of the gaze which parallels the circling of the narrator and in Metsakes' case, of the narrative, exemplifies at a metaphorical level, the ultimate circulation of the signifier within a crowded context of signifieds. The signifier can be viewed as an equally lonely subject in the sense that it cannot preserve a stable and unique bond with a signified. It passes through many hands like the piece of paper left by the suicide:

41. For the reciprocity in the figures of the 'flâneur' and the prostitute see Deborah Epstein Nord, 'The City as Theater: From Georgian to Early Victorian London', *Victorian Studies* 31 2 (1988) 159-88, quoted by Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 253. Cf. Susan Buck-Morss, 'The Flâneur, the Sandwichman, and the Whore', *New German Critique* 23 39 (1986) 99-142.

42. Metsakes, 'Αυτόχειρ', 285.

Ητον το μισό κομμάτι μισής κόλλας του χαρτιού εκείνου του ταχυδρομείου, όπου μεταχειρίζονται συνήθως εις τις επαρχίες, του ριγωμένου κατά πλάτος, με τα πράσινα ριγώματα, ζαρωμένο αρκετά, τσαλακωμένο, με ορατά τα ίχνη δακτυλίων, ως να επέρασε από διαφόρους χείρας, άγραφο όλο, και μάλιστα εις μίαν των γραμμών την πρώτην, διεκρίνοντο, λεπτά-λεπτά γραμμένες, με μικρότατα ψηφία, πέντε λέξεις 'Αυτοκτονώ. Ας μην ενοχληθή κανείς'.⁴³

The message of the suicide is a peripheral microscopic sign inscribed upon a slip of paper that is the fragment of another fragment. A part of an absent whole, this piece of paper has suffered from its previous uses, from its passing through various hands, to which will be added the hands of the narrator himself. The numerical figure of the written characters and the post-office paper — used for the exchange of messages — indicate the transactive nature of the note. The lines and the creases bear the traces of the different significances it acquired within various contexts. As the narrator folds it once more before returning it to the policeman, he invests it with his own personal meaning.

Like the note, which reflects the elusive nature of signification, and like the city that resists recognition, both narratives re-enact by their own incompleteness the absence of a final interpretation. In 'The Man of the Crowd' the simile comparing the old man to a book that does not permit itself to be read functions as a synecdoche of the whole narrative which cancels any attempt at a single meaning. In 'Αυτόχειρ', the narrator strolls in the city in a vain effort to interpret the 'γραμμένο καθαρώτατα, με στερεόν το χέρι, ευανάγνωστα, χωρίς καμμίαν ανορθογραφίαν, . . .' message of the dead 'αλλόκοτου ταξιδιώτου'.⁴⁴ This query results in the writing of the *Σημειώσεις* by the stable, literal hand of another *Ταξιδιώτου*, the author and narrator Metsakes, and, thus, shifts the onus of the creation of meaning onto the reader.

The perambulation of the narrative within a context of intertexts

43. Metsakes, 'Αυτόχειρ', 270.

44. Metsakes, 'Αυτόχειρ', 270, 272.

is demonstrated when the narrator juxtaposes and interlinks his own discourse with these of other thinkers and writers.⁴⁵ In 'The Man of the Crowd' the narrator contrasts his mental situation with the spirit of Leibnitz and Gorgias, compares the prostitutes he observes with a statue in Lucian's *Dream* and parallels the glamorous darkness of the surroundings with the style of Tertullian.⁴⁶ All these analogies lead back to the main preoccupation of the narrative with the relationship between image and meaning. Lucian's statue explicitly points to the discrepancy between a glittering surface and its filthy interior; similarly the Asianic manner of Tertullian is powerful and flashy but not free from obscurity. The references to Leibnitz and Gorgias are more suggestive, since both philosophers had raised from a different route the problem of ultimate knowledge to verify the dependence of human intellect upon individual perception of reality.

In 'Αυτόχειρ' the allusions to literary practice are less evident but still suggestive. The narrator, who bears the name of the author, spends a part of his morning reading journals in a city club. The only two friends he meets are men of letters in the sense of being producers of texts, literary or not. Leonidas Kanellopoulos, 'καγκελλάριος του τουρκικού προξενείου εν τη πόλει και λογογράφος εις τας ώρας του' was a known literary figure of the time. And again, Chrestakes Palamas, whom the narrator leaves 'στα χαρτιά και στα γραψίματά του' was the brother of the well known poet and a writer himself.⁴⁷ These figures share with the author-narrator and indeed the 'εγγράμματον προδήλως' suicide, their connection with the printed word, a bond that is established and at the same time mediated

45. Here, I am referring to the internal connections of the narrative with other literary texts. Criticism has also pointed out a series of intertextual links between Poe's tale and texts by Dickens and Hoffman. See for instance, Poe, 'The Man of the Crowd', 505 and Gisela Vitt-Maucher, 'E.T. Hoffmanns *Ritter Gluck* und E.A. Poes *The Man of the Crowd*: Eine Gegenüberstellung', *The German Quarterly* 43/1 (1970) 35-46.

46. It is characteristic that when the Greek translator removed all these intertextual allusions, probably because of their obscurity, he rendered the text less perplexing and therefore less suggestive.

47. For biographical information on Leonidas Kanellopoulos see Κωνστ. Φ. Σκόκου *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον του έτους 1903* (1902) 91 and on Chrestakes Palamas, *Μεγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, ed. Pavlos Drandakes, 19, 2nd. edition (Athens n.d.).

by their own hand. Somehow they are all ‘αυτό-χειρες’ as the use of their hand brings them into and out of their material existence: writing is both a means of living and of creating. Moreover, it is with his own hands that the suicide took his own life and created his fictional one. The death of the real person is redeemed by the existence of the enigmatic note, which not only constitutes the speaking token of the dead man but also inaugurates a process of writing through which the author brings himself into textual existence, being the narrator of the whole experience. The production of narrative originates in the lack of actual presence which it comes to cover through the letter. In ‘Αυτόχειρ’, especially, absence constitutes the matrix of the text: as an act it generates the narrative; as a spatial point it constitutes the centre of the city; as the lack of meaning it becomes the experience around which this writing evolves.

Narratives of strolling spectators and perplexed readers, ‘The Man of the Crowd’ and ‘Αυτόχειρ’, construe perambulation as a multivocal activity in which urban exploration intersects with the experience of selfhood and the construction of signification. Challenging the equation of seeing with knowing upon which conventional urban realist narratives were based, these texts precipitate a change in the visual image of the city as ultimately opaque; this change produces, in turn, a new representation of self and is reproduced in the organisation of the narrative. The indefinite circling of the narrator in an attempt to decipher a text, that eternally postpones its reading, generates the endless voyeurist act of looking at the Other and consequently of seeing oneself through the Other, which creates a protean self-image. The narrative itself substantiates this circular movement of the gaze as it perambulates within an indefinite context of past and future possible significances. The two narratives, stories about the incommunicability of other stories, register how a discourse is finally unreadable, in the sense that it gyrates as a ‘flâneur’ and a ‘voyeur’, constantly concealing its final meaning. In their ‘dialogue’ the two texts testify that narrative always proceeds in circles, it perambulates.

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SHORT NOTES

Photius, Phlegon, and Virgil

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In his *Bibliotheca*, codex 97, Photius passes under review the *Compilation of Olympic Victors and Chronicles* by Phlegon of Tralles, a freedman of Hadrian. This work was dedicated by Phlegon to an imperial official, P. Aelius Alcibiades. Neither the official nor the book are mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* or the extant Byzantine epitomes of Dio Cassius, or indeed in any literary source. The name Aelius, however, might have helped the *HA* to create one of its many bogus sources, to wit Aelius Maurus, a supposed freedman of Phlegon himself and supplier of an anecdote about Septimius Severus on his deathbed.¹

Photius simply refers to this Alcibiades as one of Hadrian's guards. It appears from the epigraphic evidence² that he held the influential position of a *cubiculo*, replaced in the fourth century by that of *praepositus sacri cubiculi*. Photius' vague language³ may reflect the reduced status of this latter official in his own day.⁴

According to the *Suda* (Φ 527 Adler), Phlegon's compilation ran to sixteen volumes.⁵ It may have bored as many contemporary readers as it did Photius, for he subsequently came out with an epitomised version in which the original sixteen volumes were compressed into two. Since Photius says he got through five books, he

1. In the words of R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford 1968) 60, Aelius 'is implausibly cited at the beginning of two chapters of rubbish.'

2. Assembled by Stein in *PIR*² A 134 (Berlin & Leipzig 1933).

3. It is the only text adduced to illustrate this office by H.J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto 1974) 98.

4. See the notice of this official by Kazhdan in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991) 3, 1709. It is obviously anachronistic to call Alcibiades *praepositus sacri cubiculi* as does Henry in his Budé edition of Photius.

5. Photius himself does not give this particular piece of information, saying only that the book began with the first Olympiad and extended 'to the times of Hadrian'.

was obviously tackling the full edition. It is a bit misleading on the part of Treadgold to say that Photius stopped reading in the middle.⁶ In terms of Olympiads covered, he got to the 177th out of 229, a good deal more than half, while in terms of volumes, he gave up well before halfway. It looks as though Phlegon's material quite naturally expanded as he reached the later Roman Republic and began to approach his own time.

The *HA* represents Phlegon as a freedman of Hadrian whose unspecified *libri* were actually the work of the emperor, and he will have been one of the unnamed educated freedmen under whose names Hadrian is said to have published his own autobiography.⁷ A supposed letter by Hadrian disparaging the Egyptians is cited verbatim *ex libris Phlegontis*.⁸ No one now believes in the authenticity of this document: 'Sheer delight, for it is all fiction: "Vopiscus" at the peak of his performance,' is Syme's verdict.⁹ However, as with Aelius Maurus above, it may be possible to see a connection of sorts between truth and fiction. This letter of Hadrian has a good deal to say about the Jews, a race whose treatment by Phlegon is singled out for comment by Philostorgius, quoted by the *Suda* as the finale to its notice of the freedman writer.

There is no suggestion in the *Suda*'s bibliography of his works that Phlegon was in any way associated with a book on or by Hadrian. Indeed, the notice of him begins by indicating a dispute over whether he was a freedman of Hadrian or Augustus, a matter with which Photius sensibly does not bother. It should be noted, though, that in addition to precise titles, the *Suda* credits him with unspecified other works. Nor can we assume completeness on the *Suda*'s part. For very pertinent example, it does not include the monograph on

6. W. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius* (Washington, D.C. 1980) 101, suggesting in a concomitant note that Photius may have had an incomplete manuscript, an unlikely proposition. Cf. C. Mango, 'Books in the Byzantine Empire, AD 750-850', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, D.C. 1975) 39; N.G. Wilson, *Photius: The Bibliotheca* (London 1994) 18. It is also misleading of J. Schamp in his volume of indexes (Paris 1991) to Henry's Budé to restrict (455) Phlegon's book to five volumes.

7. *Hadr.* 16. 1.

8. *Firmus* 8. 1-10.

9. *Loc. cit.*

famous whores in its bibliography for Suetonius (T 895 Adler). In some cases, Phlegon and Suetonius wrote on the same or similar topics, e.g. games and Roman antiquities, something that might have prompted the *HA* to its association of Phlegon with a life of Hadrian. Given the often ferocious competitiveness that prevailed among the intellectuals and writers of Hadrian's time, thanks in large measure to the emperor's own keen involvement, it is not very daring to surmise a rivalry between the likes of Phlegon and Suetonius.¹⁰ This may also be the moment to suggest a broader literary nexus. P. Aelius Alcibiades was associated with the city of Nysa. A certain Chaeremonianus, friend of another distinguished literary man of the time, Plutarch no less, was a native of Tralles probably descended from Chaeremon of Nysa who had supported Rome in the Mithridatic wars.¹¹ Back in the days of Sulla, Plutarch's birthplace Chaeronea had been saved from destruction by the intervention of Lucullus. The biographer expressly says¹² that his life of Lucullus was designed as a tribute to this act. In his notice of Phlegon, Photius draws all his examples from the 177th Olympiad, that is 72-68 B.C., and much of his chosen subject matter has to do with Lucullus and the Mithridatic wars.

Photius discusses only this one work of Phlegon, an author not disclosed anywhere else in the *Bibliotheca*, nor in the *Letters* or *Amphilochia*. Given the modern criticism of him for being too fond of fantastic tales,¹³ it is notable that he does not review or even mention Phlegon's book of *mirabilia* attested by the *Suda*.¹⁴

On the combined evidence of Photius and the *Suda*, Phlegon of Tralles spread himself over sixteen volumes, from the first Olympiad to the 229th which began in AD 137, near the end of Hadrian's reign.

10. *HA*, *Hadr.* 14. 8-16. 11. Cf. A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius: The Scholar and his Caesars* (London & New Haven 1983) 43-9, where this possibility is not pursued and Phlegon is not mentioned.

11. See on this C.P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971) 40.

12. *Cimon* 2. 3.

13. Though see the reasoned remarks of Wilson, *op. cit.*, 12, and my own defence of Photius' taste in a review article based on Wilson's book in a forthcoming issue of *EMC/CV*.

14. Phlegon also wrote about people who reached a great age, the subject of a pamphlet ascribed to Lucian in the same or the next generation; cf. B. Baldwin, *Studies in Lucian* (Toronto 1973) 25.

He began at the beginning since he had the Thucydidean aim of cleaning up the confusions and errors of predecessors in the field. According to Photius, the compilation was a poorly written assembly of often tedious material, with far too much attention given to oracles. Given the author's intentions, as professed through his title and amplified by the *Suda*'s descriptive remark that the work contained 'material from everywhere', this criticism seems rather unfair, at least as far as content is concerned.

Photius kicks off his selections from Phlegon with a detailed list of Olympic victors and their events. One doubts that many of his Byzantine readers found this catalogue very interesting, and the stiffer element would presumably have disapproved of this pagan material.¹⁵ Elsewhere, Photius shows some interest in the foundation of the Greek games and has the odd anecdote,¹⁶ but it is not impossible that he deliberately began with this tedious list in order to justify his own concluding criticism of the book's content. We are then given a range of items, with, as mentioned above along with a possible explanation, obtruded emphasis upon Lucullus and the Mithridatic wars.¹⁷ It is worth repeating also that Photius confines his examples to the 177th Olympiad (72-68 BC), the stopping-point in his reading of the work.

Military matters apart, Photius selected from his illustration of Phlegon's content: Catulus' dedication of the Capitol; a census listing 910,000 Roman citizens;¹⁸ an earthquake at Rome with much resulting damage; the succession of Patron to the position of his fellow Epicurean Phaedrus; and the birth of Virgil.

This last entry states simply and correctly that 'Virgilius Maro the poet was born in this year (sc. 70 BC) on the Ides of October.'

15. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 136 n. 1, expresses surprise that a Christian writer (in this case, Eunomius) should have reckoned by Olympiads. Still, the point should not be pressed too far: Olympiads are ubiquitous in, e.g., the *Paschal Chronicle*.

16. *Bibl.*, codices 241 (Anaxagoras predicts rain before Olympic Games) and 279 (Helladius on the foundations of the major Greek festivals).

17. This is not the place for a lengthy analysis, but it can briefly be stated that the items from Phlegon are frequently at odds with the version in Plutarch's life of Lucullus.

18. Phlegon's figure differs from the *Perioche* of Livy 98, where one manuscript gives 950,000, the rest a round 900,000. Cf. P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower* 225 BC-AD 14 (Oxford 1971) 94.

The date is expressed in Latin terms: εἰδοῖς ὀκτωβρίαις. This phraseology is no doubt Phlegon's. Still, it is worth noting for the linguistic record that Photius has the Latinism elsewhere, along with the cognate adjective, references¹⁹ that enrich the notice of the term in Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* which, apart from falsely accusing *LSJ* of omitting it, restricts it to the *Paschal Chronicle* and Theophanes.²⁰ Photius was interested in the old Roman calendar: *Amphilochia* 242 is (in Wilson's words²¹) a brief and inaccurate explanation of the Kalends, Nones, and Ides.

In the words of Martial (12. 67. 3), *Octobres Maro consecravit Idus*. Phlegon, Suetonius, Jerome all duly record it.²² The point of present interest is that Photius should select it from such a mass of material to exemplify Phlegon's content; also that he assumes his brother Tarasius, to whom the *Bibliotheca* is addressed, will need no exegesis.

Mango,²³ writing specifically about the notice of Phlegon, observes that Photius 'from time to time tends to slip into the diction of the authors he is reviewing — an understandable phenomenon.' In the light of this, we can here ask a couple of sample questions. To whom do we owe the rare dual construction μετὰ δυοῖν ταγμάτοις, Phlegon or Photius?²⁴ Whose word is σεισμός, for the earthquake recorded? If Photius', why not θεομηνία, the more theologically loaded Byzantine term?²⁵

A second mention of Virgil by Photius has been overlooked by the poet's editors and Byzantinists alike.²⁶ It occurs in *Amphilochia*

19. *Amphilochia* 242, 1. 5. 5. 7; cf. L.G. Westerink's index volume (Leipzig 1988) to the Teubner edition.

20. The word is a good deal more frequent in papyri than the lexica disclose; cf. the repertory of references in S. Daris, 'Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d'Egitto,' *Aegyptus* 40 (1960), 202-3.

21. *Scholars of Byzantium* (London & Baltimore 1983) 115.

22. Not, however, John Lydus in the relevant section (4. 141) of his *De Mensibus*.

23. *Loc. cit.*

24. Photius has duals at *Amph.* 42, 124 and 78, 75; cf. *LSJ* on their relative infrequency.

25. On the evidence of Lampe, the latter term (not registered in this sense in *LSJ*) is commoner than the former in patristic Greek.

26. See below for Virgil's editors. On the Byzantine side, see (e.g.) Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* 115, who analyses this *Amphilochian* passage, drawing attention to the matter of Euripides' *Lamia* but without a word on the Virgilian item.

150, where the patriarch inventories the ten names of the ancient Sibyl. For the seventh of these, the Cumaean, having listed the alternative names of Amalthia, Erophile, and Taraxandra, Photius adds: 'But Virgil, the poet of the Romans, calls her Diiphobe.'²⁷

Such earlier Byzantine writers as John Lydus and John Malalas often refer to Virgil in this same way, frequently (in Malalas' case) adding such compliments as 'the most wise'. In his allusion (with Greek prose version supplied) to *Aen.* 11. 371-3, one that damages Gibbon's sweeping assertion that the whole of Greek literature from Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Libanius contained not a single mention of Virgil or Horace, Dio Cassius (75. 10. 2) more Romanly calls him 'the poet Maro', *tout court*. Lydus and Malalas also on occasion cite the *Aeneid* by title and book number.²⁸

All this makes it quite clear that the words 'Virgilius Maro the poet' in codex 97 are those of Phlegon, not of Photius. In the present passage, 'the poet of the Romans' is a typical piece of Byzantine floridity. It does not mean that he thought Amphilocheus, the metropolitan of Cyzicus, needed to be reminded that Virgil was a Roman, i.e. Latin, poet.

The allusion is to *Aen.* 6. 36: *Deiphobe Glauci, fatur quae talia regi*. Standard modern commentators (e.g. Austin, Page, Williams) do not mention the Photian item. But the best of them, Austin, confirms in his note²⁹ on the line that only Virgil calls the Sibyl by the name Deiphobe.

Photius' list of Sibyls is for the most part identical in content and language to a number of other, earlier ones. On the Latin side, the canonical version was produced by Varro in a lost work quoted (with acknowledgement) in full, verbatim, by Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* 1. 6. 7-12. Virgil is not in this list. Obviously, an allusion to the *Aeneid* is not to be expected in Varro. But there was no reason why Lactantius,

27. These spellings of the proper names reflect those of Photius; the same procedure is followed below when citing the cognate texts.

28. For full discussion of Virgil in Dio, Lydus, and Malalas, cf. B. Baldwin, 'Virgil in Byzantium', *A&A* 28 (1982) 81-8; 'Dio Cassius and John Malalas: Two Ancient Readings of Virgil', *Emerita* 55 (1987) 85-6.

29. In his commentary (Oxford 1977) on Book Six.

who quotes him very frequently in the same work, should not have incorporated a reference.³⁰

In its entry for the second of the Sibyl's names, Libyssa, the Varro-Lactantius list cites as evidence the prologue to the *Lamia*, a lost play of Euripides. Photius has this as well. So, too, does the prologue, apparently composed in the sixth century, to the *Oracula Sibyllina* in its register of the ten names.³¹ Here, after itemising Amaltheia, Erophile, and Taraxandra as alternatives for the Cumaeian, the author adds: 'But Virgil calls the Cumaeian Deiphobe, the daughter of Glaucus.' Apart from feeling no need or desire to expand his simple mention of the poet's name, this author is, in his spelling of Deiphobe and the addition of 'the daughter to Glaucus', much closer to Virgil's actual Latin.

A scholium³² on Plato, *Phaedr.* 244b, states in the same place in its list that 'Virgil, the poet of the Romans, calls her Deiphobe;' it also comports the allusion to Euripides.

John Lydus in his version (*De Men.* 4. 47) has neither the Virgil nor the Euripides information. The same is true of the list of names in the *Suda* (S 361 Adler), as well as a bare onomastic tally in the *Paschal Chronicle*.³³

Although it would have been an agreeable conclusion that Photius had himself read Virgil in either Latin or a Greek translation, it is clear that we cannot rush to such a judgement. Indeed, a subsidiary purpose of this paper is to underline the need for caution against turning sober method into leaps of faith. This mention of Virgil by Photius is pretty obviously derivative. But, again, it does reflect a genuine interest. In his notices of two (to us) lost works, codices 161 and 166, respectively by Sopatros and Antonius Diogenes, Photius

30. This point is not pursued by R.M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford 1978) 51, nor by any of the older commentators whose notes are reproduced in Migne, *PL* 6, cols. 141-4.

31. Ed. J. Geffcken (Leipzig 1902; repr. Leipzig 1967) prol. 29-50. For the role of the Sibylline Oracles in Byzantine literature and thought, see the notice of them by Kazhdan and Trombley in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 3, 1890-1.

32. *Scholia Platonica*, ed. G.C. Greene (Haverford 1938) 79-80.

33. P. 211 Bonn = Migne, *PG* 92.1, col. 288b; this item is not in the admirable annotated translation, which starts in a later section, by Michael and Mary Whitby (Liverpool 1989).

was struck by what they had to say about Sibyls and thought it worth passing on to Tarasius and any other readers the *Bibliotheca* might have.³⁴

Whatever his precise source,³⁵ this Photian mention of Virgil perpetuates a specific and by late antiquity surely a recondite piece of information. None of the texts in question state explicitly that Virgil was the only writer to call the Sibyl Deiphobe, but the singling out of the poet in this connection is proof of a recognition that there was something special about the content of *Aen.* 6. 36. As with the item from Phlegon, what counts most for Byzantium and Byzantinists is that Photius was himself interested enough in Virgil to report them and his presumption that at least Amphilochius and Tarasius (plus, perhaps, one eye on a wider audience) would be equally interested and/or impressed by the dropping of such a name.³⁶

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34. Likewise, regarding Euripides' *Lamia*, an equally derivative notice, we may compare the lengthy extracts in *Bibliotheca*, codex 190, from Ptolemy Chennos which include a tradition, denoted in Henry's Budé as unique, that Cicero was murdered while reading the *Medea*.

35. Wilson, *SB* 115, suggests only John Lydus, clearly too limited and, on the evidence of the texts here presented, on the wrong track.

36. It is the same, we might add, with such as John Lydus. The extent of his knowledge of Latin has been much debated — see most recently M. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past* (London & New York 1992) 30-32 — but again, what counts is his choice of names to drop: showing off is pointless if the intended audience cannot be trusted to appreciate what the author is boasting of.

Printing and Publishing in Greece: 'flexibility' and the process of innovation, 1979-1991

COLIN SIMMONS and NICOS LEANDROS

1. Introduction

Since the mid-1960s a large number of innovations has affected printing and publishing throughout the world. At the heart of what is now widely acknowledged as a technological revolution was the switch to photo-composition and offset lithography from 'hot-metal' techniques. Two principal developments may be identified — the shift from molten metal to photography pioneered in the USA, and the introduction of electronic-based processes of production and transmission (Moran, 1974: 147-261, 309-19; Clair, 1976; Marshall, 1983; Guy and Haywood, 1985). The early photo-setters were costly and were restricted to a relatively small number of sizes and typefaces. Origination remained fragmented and still had to be divided-up into a series of distinct tasks notably keyboarding, photo-typesetting, page paste-up, photographic work and final plate-making. Because of this constraint the take-up of electronic typesetting, particularly in small and medium-size printing firms, was slow. However, the arrival of micro-electronic chips paved the way for cheaper and more dependable photo-typesetting systems. Digitalisation of information enables a unification of the origination process and allows an author to prepare high quality graphics and sophisticated art work.

These innovations have induced change in virtually all areas of printing and publishing. Much attention has been directed towards new features of industrial organisation and structure (cf. Bollard, 1983; Marshall, 1983; Tunstall, 1986). To begin with, it is now apparent that leading book and newspaper publishing companies now possess the means to expand their activities well beyond the traditional boundaries of printing into the wider arena of the commercialisation of data and information retrieval. This technical integration of print

production with data processing and telecommunications facilitates the formation of global mass media empires, and is a factor behind the intensification of competition between the major conglomerates operating in this sector of the economy (Coleridge, 1993). A second trend consequent upon combining 'cold' composition and facsimile transmission, is that it has freed printers from the requirement of concentrating all aspects of the production process under a single roof. Thus it is now practicable to promote the spatial separation of composition from presswork and yet retain the necessary continuity of production. Another change of note arising from the appearance of more flexible and cheaper photo-typesetting and printing machines is that barriers to both entry and exit permits the advent (and disappearance) of smaller specialised enterprises. Naturally the exact manner in which these influences have altered organisation and structure differs between countries and depends upon how they articulate with a range of political and socio-economic factors.

This reasoning suggests that country studies are needed in order to comprehend the all-important contextual and institutional framework. Because of the vital role of mass media in modern society this work is now well under way in the most economically advanced Western economies; however, in southern Europe (and in many developing countries) it has barely begun. This paper sets out to explore these issues with respect to Greece — an experience which has not been discussed very widely so far. We start by reviewing critically the theoretical perspectives offered by the Flexible Specialisation school, particularly the variant popularised by Piore and Sabel (1984) and developed further in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Hirst and Zeitlin, 1991). Since a great deal of controversy has centred upon the role of small firms, and because such types of enterprise continue to dominate the Greek industrial structure, Section 2 seeks to provide a reference point for the more empirical work that follows. In Section 3 we present data on the structure and growth of the industry, and argue that it is important to differentiate between the national newspaper and general printing and publishing sub-sectors. In Section 4 we undertake a consideration of the Athenian-based national daily newspaper firms and suggest that several profound changes have occurred over the last decade. The focus of Section 5 is the general

printers and publishers. Here we present detailed evidence obtained through case studies of two different types of enterprise, and in this sub-sector, a rather different pattern of development was observed. Finally, in our General Conclusion we consider the position of the industry as a whole and attempt to place it within a wider comparative context.

2. Small Firms and Flexibility

The hypothesis that the new micro-electronic technology favours small (and perhaps medium-sized) firms arises from a detailed consideration of its impact upon plant-level manufacturing, and new relations between different units of production. A number of observers have used printing as an example of the decentralising consequences of micro-electronics on industrial structure. According to one well-respected commentator, 'new, modern and relatively inexpensive microprocessor-based equipment is now being designed specifically for small firms, and this is altering the large/small balance in some industries . . . an example is composition in the printing industry' (Bollard, 1984: 12). However, developments affecting the activities of management such as design, the co-ordination and control of production, the determination of the scale of output and overall control over administration, also need to be taken into account. In this respect larger companies appear to enjoy certain advantages relative to smaller and medium-sized firms (Kaplinsky, 1984; Fulk and Steinfeld, 1990). The widespread dispersion of equipment based upon micro-electronics throughout enterprises provides management with faster and more precise knowledge of both operating conditions and outcomes. It makes it feasible to achieve a closer match between the deployment of staff and the demands of any one section of an organisation at a particular time, while simultaneously it reduces idle capacity.

The expansion of opportunities for more effective and flexible management can be seen from the widespread adoption of systems of production which rely heavily upon close management surveillance and an increased ability to co-ordinate complex tasks with great precision. A key objective is the reduction of machine set-up time which makes product diversification a more viable option, and facilitates the elimination of excess capacity (Kaplinsky, 1985; Sayer,

1986; Tailby and Turnbull, 1987). The introduction of computer-assisted management not only gives capital greater potential control over the work process in the large factory, but also presents the possibility of co-ordinating production that is increasingly dispersed over space. Technological advance in micro-electronics and telecommunications underpin the tendency for centralisation of command and, at the same time, enables production to be split between smaller units, and also allows individuals working from home but linked electronically to form a network of out-stations (Rogers, 1986). Furthermore, the economic uncertainty and recession of recent years prompted large companies to place great emphasis upon restructuring policies which promote the fragmentation of production. Measures to improve flexibility and extend sub-contracting arrangements have become increasingly commonplace and help to safeguard and expand the power and control over the market of the large corporations. For instance, in the printing and publishing industry, the multi-plant newspaper company that uses facsimile transmission to decentralise presswork to a number of regional printing plants has become commonplace. This allows mass-circulation newspapers to reduce transportation costs and permits an expansion of their possible area of home delivery. Given the rapid perishability of the news product this latter point is obviously of considerable importance — especially because inter-media competition for coverage is now so intense. Moreover, foreign editions can be published virtually at the same time as domestically produced pages, and specialised sections with local interest can be included, thus maximising advertising revenue (Tunstall, 1986: 184; and Dunnett, 1988). Furthermore, the international division of labour is developing rapidly, especially in the book market (Curwen, 1986). This enables large publishers in Europe and America to obtain printed books from the Third World. As a consequence the new technology can strengthen the position of leading companies, while at the same time facilitating their internal differentiation and creating the conditions for the advent of relatively small units. Recent research shows that the innovative small firm is the exception (Freeman, 1982; Shutt and Whittington, 1984; Imrie, 1986). Our examination of developments in the Greek printing and publishing industry also provides support for this view. We will argue

that in the national newspaper sub-sector the emergence of many of the small, specialised enterprises has been the result of restructuring policies initiated by the larger firms.

3. The Size and Structure of Enterprises

Printing and publishing has remained one of the relatively minor branches of Greek manufacturing during the entire post-war period. The industry accounted for just 2.25% of employment in manufacturing in 1958, and though the absolute number had more than doubled to 22,889 thirty years later (see Table 1), the share rose by less than a single percentage point.¹ Moreover, in 1980 the industry accounted for just 1.7% of Gross Production Value and 2.8% of value added produced in manufacturing as a whole (ESYE, 1958, 1984; ESYE, Industrial Survey, 1980). Compared with the corresponding figures in most countries of Western Europe and North America, these percentages are very low. For instance, in 1984, printing and publishing in the USA accounted for 7.4% of total employment in manufacturing and 6.8% of value added (UNIDO, 1985). The relatively slow pace of development in Greece may be seen as a symptom of peripheral status, the complexities of the Greek script, industrial weaknesses and structural problems which have characterised the Greek path of growth (Mouzelis, 1978). Despite steady progress in the post-World War Two era the size of the market has remained limited. This is due to the small size and population of the country and, more directly, the result of a low consumption per capita of printed matter. It is indicative that in 1984 consumption of printing paper and newsprint was 89 Kg in Finland, 76 in USA, 46 in France, 39 in Great Britain, and only 10 in Greece; and the most recent comparative data available (relating to 1989) shows that countries such as Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands and Hong Kong consume a far greater quantity of newsprint and 'other

1. In the absence of annual data we used the ESYE Censuses (excepting 1963) to calculate the share of employment in printing and publishing with that for manufacturing as a whole. The results are as follows:

Year:	1958	1969	1973	1978	1984	1988
%:	2.25	2.84	2.66	2.60	2.54	3.24

printing and writing paper' per capita than Greece (UNESCO, 1987: Table 7.22; and 1991: Tables 7.16 and 25). The inadequacies of the education system, the relatively low per capita income (by EU standards) and the modest levels of total and per capita expenditure upon advertising are probably the main factors responsible for such a lowly rank.

As a result of the limited size of the market, Greece has not been able to take advantage of economies of scale. This has inhibited the emergence of large companies and a consequent concentration of capital. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the enterprises active in the printing and publishing industry are units employing less than ten persons (91% of the total in 1988, see Table 1); and even the largest of the Greek companies are comparatively small by British and North European standards. Data on the distribution of establishments by size (measured in terms of employment) were gathered for the first time during the 1958 Census of Industry. Since then, the National Statistical Service of Greece (E.S.Y.E.) has organised six further censuses along similar lines, and their findings are presented in Table 1. Unfortunately this data set suffers a number of deficiencies.² To overcome these we decided to examine the returns submitted by the publicly registered enterprises appearing in the Annual Directory compiled by the independent ICAP organisation.

Two types of enterprise are included in Table 3: the generally larger companies who possess a capital base of at least five million drachmas

2. There are four main drawbacks. Firstly, since the statistics are neither annual nor regularly sequential, it is not possible to track several important dimensions of change: thus the six-year gap between 1978 and 1984 is particularly regrettable because it is too long to permit an investigation of the process of technological change — much of which was telescoped in 1981 and 1982. Secondly, the categories are not entirely consistent through the censuses. Thirdly, insufficient information is given with respect to the larger enterprises, especially those employing over two hundred persons. Finally, it is clear that the number of enterprises recorded is an underestimate of the true annual figure. Indeed at the micro level there is good reason to believe that many firms did not register with the census officers. Some were obviously determined to deny any official existence and thereby evade tax and insurance liability; some may not have been informed; and still others may well have decided not to bother. This is not uncommon in Greece and it has been estimated that the parallel economy amounted to a third (31.6%) of GDP in 1988 — and was still rising (Vavouras et al., 1990; Negreponi-Delivani, 1990).

and enjoy limited liability status — these are the designated S.A. or Société Anonyme group; and the rather smaller 'Ltd.' enterprises who, with a minimum capital of 200,000 drachmas, also have the liability limited to the partners. Since only the corporate sector is represented, the Directory is necessarily not representative of the industry as a whole — although it is interesting to observe from Table 3 that there has been a steady increase in the number of firms captured.

Tables 1 and 3 provide a credible series and enable us to piece together structural features and trend change. They also provide a basis on which to derive an estimate of the average number of persons employed per establishment size for the industry as a whole (Table 2), and for the SA and Ltd. Co.'s (Table 4). The first point of note from Table 1 is that although by far the largest number of enterprises (nine-tenths) fall into what we term the 'micro' category, their share of total industrial employment never exceeds half the total (it averages out at 41% over 1958-88). This pattern is not untypical of light manufacturing in general, and if we then consider the 10-49 category alongside the micro group, then well over 95% of all enterprises in concert account for two-thirds of total employment. Since the multi-plant enterprise has been very rare in the industry (Leandros, 1992), this structure is of considerable significance. At the other end of the spectrum a very small number of large firms i.e., those employing more than a hundred persons each, employed around a quarter of all employees throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The number of middle rank units (50-99) is not dissimilar to the large, but their share of total employment is much less, although it is obviously considerably in excess of their group weighting. Over the time span considered we see an increase in the percentage share of micro enterprises by approximately five per cent, and a slightly lower rate in terms of their share of employment. The small and medium group however both lose out on the two measures, whereas the larger enterprises exhibit a pronounced rise in their claim on labour resources to 1973 (nearly doubling from 1958), but thereafter achieve a degree of stability. Again this squeeze on the middle categories from both the micro and the large — the former throughout the period save 1973, and the latter up to the mid-1970s, is not unique to this industry.

When we consider the SA and Ltd. enterprises in isolation a

somewhat different perspective emerges (see Table 3). In 1973, the earliest year we can make the comparison, the corporate units accounted for 30% of total industrial employment, and this rose to 44% in 1988 — but we should note that the growth was not continuous since it reached 47% in 1984. The size bias of the incorporated vis-à-vis total enterprise is brought out most clearly in Tables 2 and 4: the overall average number of persons employed in the former over 1972-1991 was 45.2, whereas for the industry as a whole, the number was only 6.4 over 1958-88. In the corporate sector the larger enterprises still constitute a minority of the total, but in this corner of the industry are significantly out-numbered by the small units (10-49) — who also dwarf both the micro and the medium enterprises. Also of interest is the dominance of the large units with respect to the share of corporate employment. In the early 1970s they accounted for around three-quarters of the total. However, in relative terms this fell steadily over the next decade, although the absolute numbers rose from 3,222 in 1972 to 5,476 in 1981. What both Table 3 and 4 pick up clearly is the impact of the arrival of new technology. In 1982 alone 1,440 jobs were lost in the 100+ category, and at a stroke this reduced their share of total employment by almost ten per cent. Once this shake-out of unionised staff had been accomplished (for details see Leandros and Simmons, 1992), the larger units began to take on more workers, and so by 1991 more persons were employed in the large category than in any previous year, and their overall share had again risen to just over half the total. Table 4 broadly confirms this picture. It reveals the severity of the retrenchment in 1982 in the 100+ category (22% less than the year before), a fall that was sufficient to reduce the overall average from 46.9 to 37.5. If we had just possessed the ESYE data this break would not have been captured: Table 2 suggests that the 100+ category grew in 1984 on 1978 despite the average falling slightly.

The shift in the workforce of firms in the 100+ category (see Table 3(b)) was captured statistically by plotting the actual and predicted trend of employment. Using an ordinary least squares regression the growth rate before and after 1982 was calculated on a separate logarithmic scale. The results are presented over page in summary form:

Natural logarithmic growth rates of employment in large firms, 1972-1991

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>
Constant	8.285	288.64
Trend 1972-1981	0.082	17.80
Trend 1982-1991	0.037	7.96
Shift 1982	0.290	3.70
R-bar-squared	0.982	
Durbin-Watson statistic	1.651	

The two separate trend variables allow the annual proportionate rate of growth to differ before and after 1982, and the 1982 shift variable allows for the change in the constant after that date. The calculated rate of growth from 1972-1981 is 8.2%, and from 1982-1991 is 3.7%. The shift implies a fall in the predicted level of employment in these firms by some 12.9% between 1981 and 1982. All these figures are highly statistically significant (the t-ratios of the estimated coefficients exceeding the highest commonly found in t-tables), and the overall corrected R-squared of the equation shows that this simple growth rate model accounts for nearly 98% of the variation in this employment series over the period 1972-1991. As one would expect, this is not a complete model of the series and the Durbin-Watson statistic lies in the inconclusive range — which tends to confirm this finding. That the growth rate differed significantly before and after 1981/2 is born out by re-running the equation constraining the estimated growth rate to be constant and performing an F-test on this restriction. The hypothesis that this restriction is valid is therefore rejected.

We now need to consider a further structural distinction. In the past, most of the relatively large companies concentrated their activities in printing and publishing the national newspapers — those general interest dailies published in Athens and circulated through the country (in November 1992 there were 15 such newspapers with confirmed sales of 586,527 copies a day). The size of the units operating in this section of the industry was — and still is — considerably larger than that of the overwhelming majority of publishing houses and printing shops operating in the rest of the industry. In fact, it can be argued that since the 1930s — when the press workers of the national newspapers founded their own independent union organisation

and imposed pre-entry closed-shop arrangements (Karamblias, 1975), the Greek printing and publishing industry has been bifurcated into two interconnected — but very different — constituent parts. For the whole of the period which lasted from the mid-inter-war years until the widespread diffusion of the new technologies in the early 1980s, their respective characteristics can be summarized as follows. On the one hand, there were a few relatively large establishments concerned exclusively with printing and publishing the national newspapers and some large circulation magazines. Capital and production were concentrated in the hands of a small number of press 'barons' who enjoyed considerable status and power, and had developed preferential relations with the political parties and state establishments (for comparison see Coleridge, 1993). Indeed, many appear to have been as interested in wielding influence and exercising patronage as in profit maximising behaviour (McDonald, 1983; Kominis, 1985). On the other hand, the second sub-sector was — and still remains — characterised by a plethora of general printers and small enterprises who specialise in a single task of the production process. They are eager to produce anything from local newspapers and books, to cards, blocks and headed paper, and they operate under conditions of almost perfect competition. Of course, some vertically-integrated, relatively large firms also exist in this market segment, but they are very much the exception, and furthermore they find it increasingly difficult to cope in the new environment created by rapid technological change. Therefore, it is not surprising that there has been only a limited degree of capital concentration and production, and that self-employment and family-orientated firms characterised by paternalistic industrial relations are extensive. As one would expect in such circumstances, trade union organisations are much weaker here compared to what they are in the national newspaper sub-sector of the industry.

Scale of operation difference in the two sub-sectors was caused by the much higher circulation of the majority of Athenian dailies relative to other publications, and also by the fact that in the case of the national newspapers there was a tendency to concentrate all publishing and printing activities within the framework of a single firm. Throughout the post-Second World War period, and certainly

until the widespread diffusion of the new technologies in the early 1980s, the model of the vertically-integrated firm concerned with editing, administration and actually printing newspapers holds — almost without exception. An important reason for this was the ability of the trade union of press technicians (ETIPTA) to maintain absolute control over the supply of labour. In addition, the conditions of work were strictly defined (Karamblias, 1975; Karapiperi, 1977; and Simmons and Leandros, 1991). Each printing worker was engaged in the production of a certain newspaper and could not be used for any other task. If a publishing company did not own the necessary composing and printing equipment, it would arrange to obtain it by lease and then send its employees to operate the machinery. Even newspaper proprietors who had set up independent printing shops expressly for newspaper production still retained the traditional system of concentrating the entire labour force engaged in producing their daily newspaper within the framework of the publishing firm.

In spite of the relatively large number of titles, few long-established companies dominated the market during the period preceding the introduction of the new technology. Indeed, between 1952-1980, four publishing houses controlled between half to three-quarters of the national newspaper market (Association of Proprietors of Athens Daily Newspapers, *passim*). Their owners were people who had emerged from the ranks of the industry and maintained few business connections with activities outside newspaper publishing. In order to examine this aspect of capital relations, let us consider the situation circa 1980 — just prior to the widespread diffusion of the new printing technologies. Out of the nine entrepreneurs or entrepreneurial families who were active in the national newspaper section of the industry at the time, four had no interest in any other company beyond the one which published and printed their paper. The rest controlled a total of just seven small and medium-sized enterprises, except those exclusively or primarily concerned with printing and publishing the Athens-based political dailies. Furthermore, six of these enterprises were general printers or publishing houses, and no newspaper proprietor appeared to have any significant interests outside the industry. One important reason why even the most successful of the press ‘barons’ confined their business activities largely to newspaper

production was the existence, until comparatively recently, of a state monopoly over radio and television. As a result, private capital was deprived of a potential investment outlet in a related field. The situation underwent a pronounced change in the summer of 1987 when Law 1730/87 was passed through the legislature. This permitted the establishment of privately-owned local radio stations — after prior authorisation from the government minister in charge of information (Doulkeri, 1979; Kastoras, 1990). Two years later, Law 1866/89 deregulated television broadcasting and even stated that ‘among the criteria which are taken into account in granting or renewing a license to establish a TV station are the experience and tradition of the shareholders of the company in the field of mass media’ (Article 4, Paragraph D). Such developments help to explain the keen interest shown by the leading publishing companies in acquiring newspaper titles.

4. The New Technology and the National Newspapers

In most of the national newspapers the substitution of ‘hot-metal’ by ‘cold-type’ composition has been accompanied by the separation of publishing from printing and, in a number of cases, of type-setting from press-work.³ Independent firms now perform these tasks. In 1980, when all national newspapers were still using the ‘hot-metal’ technique, just fifteen companies were instrumental in publishing and printing the 14 papers in circulation. By 1987, when the introduction of electronic type-setting had practically been completed, 29 companies were involved in publishing and printing the 16 national newspapers circulating. There are differences in the form this strategy of fragmentation has assumed in different newspapers. In some instances, the adoption of new technology has been linked to the establishment of independent companies in order to take care of the

3. The first national newspaper to be composed entirely in ‘cold-metal’ was *Ethnos* which was launched on 14th September 1981. It was also the first newspaper that separated publishing from print and so fragmented the production process. Thus while the newspaper was published by Ethnos Publications Nikolopoulos-Kyriazis and Co SA, page paste-up and presswork was the responsibility of Pegasos Ektypotiki and Ekdotiki SA, and phototypesetting was the responsibility of Philip Publications Ltd. The first two companies were controlled by Mr. Bobolas, who also had an interest in the third firm.

different phases of newspaper production. Links of ownership or leasing of equipment are maintained with the specialised printing units who are given the responsibility of production.⁴ In other cases, the sub-contractor who prints the newspaper or performs another function in the overall production process, has not been established primarily in order to serve the needs of the principal, but is an independent firm, often with a long successful business history on record.⁵ Attempts to splinter vertically integrated companies into smaller specialised units and thereby increase profitability by means of further reductions in labour cost confer other advantages. The position of labour on the shop floor of the 'parent' enterprise is weakened, and business can be expanded beyond the horizons of newspaper production and extend into book and periodical printing (Kominis, 1985; Leandros, 1992).

Elsewhere in Europe and north America, leading newspapers have adopted a different approach with respect to innovation and have not tried to separate publishing from printing. Instead, with the introduction of 'front-end' systems, composing departments have been gradually absorbed by the editorial department, and journalists placed upon a frequent link facility with the in-house mainframe computer in order to store text and retrieve information (Smith, 1980; Tunstall, 1986; Wintour, 1989). In more recent years, the multi-plant newspaper company that uses facsimile transmission to decentralise presswork to a number of regional printing plants has emerged — especially in the USA. This is quite different from the situation in Greece. Firstly, in the more developed countries, the basic motive was essentially the desire to reduce distribution costs; secondly, the printing plants were usually owned by the parent company; and thirdly — and perhaps most important of all, decentralisation has not affected the pre-press stage since there was a tendency to centralise editorial and make-up functions. As a result, leading newspapers were in a better position to promote new forms of commercialisation of information-collection

4. This is the case in the following newspapers: *Apogevmatini*, *Avriani*, *Dimokratikos Logos*, *Eleftheros Typos*, *Ethnos* and *Niki*.

5. In this category we would include the following newspaper titles: *Avgi*, *Epikerotita*, *Nea* and *Mesimvrini*.

by setting up data-banks and engaging in electronic publishing. By contrast, in Greece, most newspapers have chosen — for the time being at least, to turn their backs upon the wider possibilities offered by the new technology in favour of a rather narrower perspective — one which focuses almost exclusively upon transforming production. Insufficient demand for ‘high-tech’ activities such as those just mentioned, the control over the broadcast media which the state exercised until 1987, and the very substantial investment required to develop a more integrated approach to technological change, have probably been the main factors behind such decision-making.

In the last decade, greater flexibility in the organisation of production and a decline in labour cost caused by the introduction of the new printing techniques have reduced barriers to entry and caused an intensification of competition in the Greek national newspaper industry. It is indicative that between 1981-1991, 23 new national dailies were launched while 20 were forced to close down, in many cases publications which had appeared a few months earlier. Although launching a national title appears to be rather easier in Greece than in countries with a much larger newspaper market, long-term survival and growth remains a difficult and high risk prospect and, as a result, many new titles disappear fairly quickly. Nevertheless, the share of the market under the control of the leading newspaper families who dominated the industry in the post-Second World War period has declined dramatically in recent years. From information released by the Association of Proprietors of Athens Daily Newspapers, we have estimated that in 1980 the four leading newspaper families controlled 62% of the market; eleven years later, the corresponding figure had fallen to 28%. Acute competition from the new titles which appeared and the inability of many of the traditional press ‘barons’ to invest the rather large sums of money required for the implementation of a modernisation programme, led to a gradual decline of their share in the market and reduced the circulation of their papers. In the last decade, the share of the national newspaper market under the control of the three largest publishing houses also declined in terms of newspaper circulation: the average daily circulation of their papers, taken together, stood at 545,863 copies in 1980, which represented 72% of total circulation. Five years later the corresponding figures

were 519,813 copies and 48%, while in 1990 they fell to 407,571 copies and 47% of the market.⁶ An important question is whether the launching of many new titles and the intensification of competition in the sub-sector may be viewed as indicating a decline in the economic power and role of the leading newspaper publisher.

Until 1981 the proprietors of even the largest publishing firms were persons who had emerged from the ranks of the industry, and their business activities were limited to newspaper and periodical printing and publishing. This state of affairs changed after that year when capital generated from outside printing and publishing entered this sensitive arena of the economy for the first time. This had far-reaching effects for the industry and, given the political role of the press, for the socio-cultural life of the country at large. In some cases, the proprietors of older and well-established newspapers such as *Akropolis*, *Kathimerini*, *Mesimvrini* and *Vradini* faced serious economic difficulties and were forced to sell up; while, in other instances, including *Eleftheros Typos*, *Epikerotita*, *Ethnos*, and *Proti* new titles were launched by entrepreneurs with much wider activities than the press. Currently, three out of the 15 national newspapers in circulation are under the control of such persons.⁷ The power and prestige that accompanies the possession of a 'political' daily is certainly a strong influence behind the decision to acquire a newspaper

6. The most recent estimate for 1991 reveals that although there was an absolute fall in their total sales (to 389,965) their share of the market rose to 53.4%.

7. The Alafouzos family, which owns *Kathimerini*, also controls five shipping and two construction companies, as well as a radio station. The Bobolas family, which owns *Ethnos*, also controls a group of nine printing and publishing, manufacturing and shipping companies, and participates in the leading private TV network (Mega Channel). Mr. Socratis Kokkalis, who owned *Epikerotita* (now closed down) also controls a group of seven manufacturing companies, including the highly successful INTRACOM SA which, in 1988, was ranked 60th among all Greek manufacturing companies in terms of total asset value. Finally, the Vardinoyannis brothers, who own *Mesimvrini*, are among the most important ship-owners and industrialists of Greece and control a group of 29 companies, including an oil refinery ranked third among all manufacturing firms in terms of total assets, and in addition a huge fleet of tankers and cargo vessels. They also participate in Mega Channel (data obtained from ICAP company reports).

— although this is scarcely something which is admitted publicly.⁸ However, the new opportunities opening in mass-media and the information sector in general, must also be regarded as a factor that, after 1981, prompted the entry of capital into national newspapers.

Between 1987-91, seven entrepreneurs who control nine national newspapers have expanded their activities into radio and television broadcasting.⁹ The publishers of *Apogevmatini* and *Eleftheros Typos*, together with Mr. S. Kokkalis, have been involved in attempts to set-up a new TV channel. This means that only four small-circulation national newspapers were not connected with attempts to diversify into the audio-visual mass media. At the same time, leading newspaper publishers have strengthened their position in the periodicals market by launching a number of new titles and by obtaining control of some mass-circulation magazines.¹⁰ Moreover, by establishing independent printing companies they have managed to expand their activities into book and periodical printing as well. In general then it is fair to argue that, although the control of the leading newspaper publishers over the national newspaper market

8. According to one commentator, 'To conglomerates, newspapers also have a special value since they can yield huge returns which do not show up immediately on the balance sheet. They can earn political friends and therefore favours of an economic nature' (Dunnett, 1988: p.49). This motive is not, of course, confined to Greece. Leaving aside the startling revelations that have emerged in the wake of Robert Maxwell's death concerning the running of the *Mirror* group, a recent UK-based illustration of the quest for political influence may be found in an interview which *Guardian* reporter B. Lawrence held with Mr. Conrad Black — the owner of the *Telegraph* group. Mr. Black, a Canadian entrepreneur (in the tradition of Lord Thompson, a former proprietor of *The Times*), insisted that newspapers were not 'like any other business' because it gave a 'ringside seat to almost everything that's happening which you would not have if you were making boxes or beer', and also because 'it does involve you fairly closely, in the case of a powerful newspaper like this, with political figures.' *Media Guardian*, 22 June 1992, p.29.

9. The Alafouzou and Bobolas families, and the Vardinoyannis brothers, together with Mr. C. Lambrakis and Mr. C. Tegopoulos, control Mega Channel. The Kouris brothers, publishers of the newspapers *Avriani*, *Niki* and *Dimokratikos Logos*, control a TV and a radio station, while Mr. S. Kokkalis also owns a radio station. Furthermore, the Communist Party of Greece, which owns a national newspaper — *Rizospastis* — also controls a radio station.

10. At the time of writing Mr. C. Lambrakis published eight periodicals which were the greatest revenue earners from advertising in this field; Mr. C. Tegopoulos published one magazine; and the Bobolas family controlled two periodicals.

has shown a tendency to decrease in the 1980s, their role in the industry as a whole has been strengthened considerably.

5. The Case of Aspioti-ELKA and Toumbis Graphic Arts

As far as the general printing and publishing sub-sector is concerned, the position of the large general printers has been weakened by the impact of increased competitive pressure from small specialised shops. The result of this has been the arrival of many small firms and the decline of the traditionally stronger section of capital. To obtain some micro-level insight into developments in this sub-sector the experience of two general printers, namely Aspioti-ELKA Graphic Art Co. SA, and Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA, is examined and contrasted. Access to the archives of the two enterprises enabled us to compile Tables 5 and 6. To facilitate comparison we have standardised their accounting conventions.

In 1873 Aspioti-ELKA was established. During the post-War period to 1985 it was one of the largest employers in the printing and publishing industry. By way of contrast, Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA was set-up in June 1979 and is a small-sized company. Both operate in the same segment of the market, lithographic printing; and both are prepared to produce the entire range of printed matter from cards and posters to albums, diaries and periodicals. Moreover, they are able to perform all three phases of print production — origination, press-work and finishing operations. It seems reasonable to assume that an examination of their performance in recent years can reveal some useful observations about the nature of the problems experienced by the general printers.

Aspioti-ELKA was engaged initially in the production of playing cards and the processing of cigarette paper. However, during the second decade of this century, three offset presses were installed, and soon the graphic arts branch — which specialised in high-quality lithographic printing, became the main line of operation. In 1954, the owner of Aspioti-ELKA founded Paragon Hellas, a company which concentrated upon the printing of business forms. Paragon has maintained a position of pre-eminence against a strong challenge from the many other enterprises which have subsequently entered this field. The number of employees increased from 12 persons in 1960, to 42

in 1970 and then to 110 in 1983, when its independent status was abolished and Paragon was absorbed into Aspioti-ELKA. Nevertheless, the operational autonomy of the unit and the organisation of the production process were not affected despite the fact that Paragon always operated from the premises of Aspioti-ELKA. As a result, until the suspension of the traditional general printing activities at the end of 1986, Aspioti-ELKA consisted of two parallel structures running alongside each other — but operating independently, i.e., the 'business forms' and the 'graphic arts' branches. Since the former has been an independent company for the greater part of the time under consideration, we shall not concern ourselves with developments affecting it here (for further details see Leandros, 1992).

Traditionally, the graphic arts branch relied on the expertise of its workforce and its complement of superior printing equipment to produce high-quality printed matter. During the inter-war years, as well as the 1950s and 1960s, a handful of general printers dominated this segment of the market, with Aspioti-ELKA the largest. Its oligopolistic position throughout this period almost certainly allowed the firm to pass on its higher labour costs and overheads to the final price of the product. However, the introduction of the new, easy-to-operate and relatively cheap offset presses in the 1970s and 1980s brought lithographic printing within the grasp of small enterprises. In the Greater Athens area alone, the number of lithographic printers increased from 145 in 1970 to 248 in 1975 and then to 548 in 1987 (Guide of the Graphic Arts, 1970, 1975, 1987). Gradually, Aspioti-ELKA lost its ability to manipulate the level of market prices, and eventually it became a price-taker. This caused a deterioration in the financial position of the firm. As may be seen from Table 5, between 1972-1977 the number of people employed rose from 302 to 419 (or by 39%), and production costs, calculated in contrast with 1974 prices, increased by almost 40%. Yet the real value of sales in 1977 — an increase of 4.7% — was only marginally higher than five years earlier. It should also be noted that between 1972-1976 the physical volume of output of the lithographic department — the number of sheets multiplied by the number of colours per sheet, increased by 47%, while the total consumption of printing paper rose by 20% (from 2,199 to 2,634 tons). However, we can see from Table 5 that the real value

of sales increased by only 11.4%. Clearly, then, one of the basic problems facing Aspioti-ELKA in the mid-1970s was its inability to translate a rising output into a proportional gain in sales revenue. The erosion of Aspioti-ELKA's market share was almost certainly the main reason for this.

Between 1977-81 management adopted a policy of concentrating the activities of the graphic arts branch upon the production of fewer product lines — those in which the company still enjoyed a competitive advantage. As a result, the number of people employed decreased to just 181 in 1981. The real value of the sales also declined, but more importantly from the point of view of the company, production costs (apart from labour) exhibited a tendency to fall at a faster pace. Despite positive results, this policy was reversed after 1982 following a change of management. In 1983, the level of employment was raised to 216 persons (compared to 183 in 1982) while, in 1984, the corresponding figure was 217. Furthermore, sales measured in constant 1974 prices increased to 62,502 thousand drachmas in 1983, and despite a decline in 1984 they still remained above the 1982 level. However, there are reasons to suggest that these developments caused an already difficult situation to deteriorate and certainly contributed to the eventual suspension of the general printing activities of the company. Over these years all the different elements of costs soared. To finance its activities, Aspioti-ELKA was increasingly forced to turn to borrowing. In 1985, its current liabilities stood at 1,135,801 thousand drachmas, compared to 152,089 thousand drachmas in 1981, and the servicing of the debt alone absorbed nearly half of the sales revenue of the graphic arts branch. A severe liquidity crisis resulted in discontinuities in the supply of printing paper. It is revealing that in 1985 the share of printing paper and materials in production cost dropped to 25%, while that of labour increased to 66%. Eventually, in the autumn of 1986 the graphic arts branch was dissolved — ending a tradition of over a century.

Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA is one of the hundreds of small (and micro-sized) lithographic printing shops that were established in Athens in the 1970s and 1980s. As can be seen from Table 6, both the number of people employed and sales revenue expressed in both nominal and real terms increased between 1979-1985. Total

production costs also rose — but at a slower rate. As a result, declared profit, both in current prices and as a proportion of sales revenue, increased. The latter figure grew from 17% in 1981 to 22% in 1985. This experience may be contrasted with developments in the graphic arts branch of Aspioti-ELKA, where total production costs rose above sales revenue in 1982, 1983, 1984 and 1985. A perusal of total production costs of the two enterprises reveals that the difference in the importance of labour accounts for a large part of their contrasting fortunes. From Table 6, we may observe that labour costs constituted 28% of total production costs of the Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA company in 1979/80, 27% in 1982, 30% in 1984 and 26% in 1985. By contrast, in the graphic arts branch of Aspioti-ELKA, labour costs accounted for 54% of total production cost in 1980, 55% in 1982, 58% in 1984 and 66% in 1985.

How might we explain the difference between the two units with respect to the importance of labour costs? From the records we have identified two major factors. In the first place, the level of wages and fringe benefits was considerably lower in the Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA, something which to a large extent is a reflection of the difference in trade union bargaining strength in the two units. Using payroll data, we have estimated that in December 1982 the total earnings of the seventeen persons engaged in this firm amounted to 563,874 drachmas, which translates into a 39% higher bill for that of Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA. An examination of the level of earnings in December 1985 indicates that the gap between the two units remained practically unchanged over the three-year period. Indeed, in December 1985, the 24 employees of Toumbis worked 4,392 hours and received total earnings of 1,112,578 drachmas; thus their hourly earnings were 253.32 drachmas. At the same time, the corresponding figure in the graphic arts branch of Aspioti-ELKA was 351.84 drachmas, or 39% higher than that of the Toumbis enterprise.

In the second place, the labour cost differential is also attributable to the existing differences in the organisation of production and the degree of managerial control over the immediate work process. An important point here is that Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA is characterised by a more flexible internal division of labour vis-à-vis Aspioti-ELKA. This is underpinned by a tighter and more effective regime

of monitoring and supervision of work. The combined effect of these factors allowed lower manning levels and permitted an increase in the intensity of work. In this respect, it is pertinent to mention that the two Heidelberg offset presses owned by Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA have a permanent crew of three: two for the two-colour machine and one for the one-colour press which, depending on circumstances, can be reinforced by other workers and the proprietor himself. By contrast, in the graphic arts branch of Aspioti-ELKA, each of the one-colour and two-colour lithographic presses had a crew of three.¹¹ Moreover, the fact that Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA is a much smaller unit allowed its owner to achieve a better co-ordination between origination, presswork and finishing processes, thus keeping the 'lost' production hours to a minimum. As a result, the productivity of work appears to be considerably higher in this firm — despite the simplicity of its mechanical equipment and the absence of four-colour offset presses. The value of sales per employee can be used as a rough and ready proxy for productivity. We have estimated that in 1981 the corresponding figure was 94% higher in Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA relative to its level in Aspioti-ELKA. The gap decreased in the years up to 1984, but this was reversed in 1985. Indeed, the figure stood at 82% in 1982, 65% in 1983, 45% in 1984 and 119% in 1985. In the latter year, the value of sales per employee was 3184.2 thousand drachmas in Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA, and only 1450.7 thousand drachmas in Aspioti-ELKA.

The competitive advantage enjoyed by Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA over its larger rival stems primarily from its use of relatively cheap labour, the greater intensity of work and an internal organisation better-suited to the needs of production in short runs. We suggest that it is precisely these factors which are characteristic of the small- and micro-firm sector in general. The highly competitive nature of the market ensures that those enterprises failing to conform to these conditions cannot survive for very long. Of course, a number of firm-specific factors (especially the variable quality of management) have

11. In the 1980s, two one-colour, three two-colour and three four-colour offset presses were in operation: only the last of these can be considered as genuinely new technology.

also contributed to the decline of the general printing activities of Aspioti-ELKA on the one hand, and to the success of Toumbis M. Graphic Arts SA on the other. However, it is worth reporting that there is some general support for the view that the decline of the role of the large general printer is a trend affecting the printing and publishing industries of a number of advanced market economies as well as Greece. So a study concerning the printing and publishing industry in London, published in 1983, argued that in the 1970s there was a 'tendency for general printers to restrict their size, both for fear of having excess capacity, and to avoid having a larger and possibly more militant workforce' (Greater London Council, 1983: 10). One informed commentator referring to printing in the UK as a whole has also pointed out that, 'Industry specialists fear that there will be a growing squeeze on medium-sized companies with a turnover of perhaps two million pounds a year' (Snoddy, 1988). Further, according to Marshall, a trend characterising the current world-wide transformation of this industrial branch is the advent of the small specialised shops at the expense of the medium-sized general printer (Marshall, 1983: 41). It seems clear then that the major developments identified in our discussion of the two case studies should not be regarded as isolated phenomena, but rather as representative of wider trends affecting the printing and publishing industry in the developed countries taken as a whole.

6. General Conclusions

The onset of new technology was a crucial factor behind the changing nature of industrial organisation and structure. The introduction and diffusion of offset presses in general printing and publishing led to increasing competition and undermined the position of the large general printing firms. The entry of many small-scale enterprises was followed by a relative decline in the economic power of the comparatively larger firms. In terms of the organisation of production and the conduct of industrial relations these small enterprises active have little in common with the robust 'independent small firm' described by Piore and Sabel (1984) in their original model of 'flexible specialisation'. Rather, we argue that small-scale enterprises in the general printing and publishing sub-sector operate under conditions

of almost perfect competition and their success depends upon their reliance upon depressingly familiar qualities — relatively cheap labour and a greater intensity of work. Moreover, they lack the central distinguishing features of an independent small firm namely, an ability to innovate and to define the parameters of their product demand schedule (Brusco and Sabel, 1981: 106). The plethora of small printing shops which operate in the general printing and publishing branch of the industry in Greece do not generally seek fresh market outlets or introduce new products.

In the national newspaper segment new technology has led to an increase in the concentration of economic power. During the 1980s, many national newspapers were co-opted within wider empires as large industrial and commercial capital entered the industry. Since the liberalisation decree of 1987, the large nationals have become part of what may almost be regarded as a new industry — that dealing with mass media and information; and clearly such empires which embrace television and radio can reap substantial economies of scale, not least connected with advertising and marketing. At the same time, there appears to have been a tendency to fragment production away from some of the bigger enterprises — although, as we have seen, the data base to track this is not very secure. In several cases, this is a process controlled from above in the sense that links of ownership or leasing of plant and equipment are maintained with the specialist enterprises, who are then given the responsibility of production. In general, the decision to separate publishing from printing and, in a number of cases, type-setting from presswork, must be seen as representing an attempt by capital to retain (or perhaps increase) profitability, weaken the organisation of labour on the shop floor and, ultimately, expand business beyond newspaper production. In such circumstances, the greater number and presence of the smaller firms in the national newspaper sub-sector does not constitute a threat to leading newspaper publishers: on the contrary, their presence may well help safeguard their position.

From the perspective of the development of the printing and publishing industry taken as a whole, we contend that the expanded role of the small firm sector has proceeded alongside the emergence of new and much more powerful concentrations of capital. Such

enterprises dominate the field of newspaper publishing, and have extended their sphere of activities to include periodicals, broadcasting and other related sub-sectors. The losers have been the large general printers who have traditionally occupied an intermediate place in the old order: their position has become untenable and they are being squeezed out. There is evidence to suggest that these trends are not confined to Greece. The world-wide restructuring of the printing and publishing industry has involved an acceleration of the pace of corporate acquisition and led to the emergence of global media conglomerates. Tunstall identifies ten press organisations that in recent years have come to dominate all aspects of the American press and continue to steadily increase their economic (and political) influence (Tunstall, 1986: 186-8); while Marshall (1983: 63) extends the argument to Western Europe as a whole, and concludes that technological development increases the concentration of power across the range of print and other media. However, there are important differences in the strategies that leading printing and publishing companies throughout Western Europe and the USA have deployed concerning innovation. Thus it is generally the case that the owners of mass circulation newspapers face a series of tasks of far greater technical and organisational complexity than their small-scale counterparts in this respect. The rather daunting technological requirements of the new integrated systems that need to be put in place; the number of employees affected by the change-over; and the huge sums of capital that have to be invested, can all act as significant constraints upon the speedy completion of the transformation required. In addition, leading newspaper and periodical publications consider themselves as providers of information services (Smith, 1980: 127). For such conglomerates the objective is far wider than effecting savings on expensive labour; they wish to use the possibilities offered by the rapid advances in telecommunications and electronic transmission to establish linkages between printed matter and the sourcing of information — which, in short, involves a re-modelling of the entire form and purpose of the medium. As a consequence, and in marked contrast to what has happened in Greece, the diffusion of new technology in many of the large newspaper chains in the countries of the capitalist core proved to be a rather more gradual, long drawn-

out process often characterised by bitter dispute. This certainly proved to be the case in the USA and the UK where no industry-wide agreement between organisations representing print workers and associations of proprietors could be reached — despite protracted attempts at negotiation.

This examination of the course of technological change and industrial restructuring in the Greek printing and publishing industry reveals that the respective size of firms, the characteristics of the market, and the differences in the objectives and priorities of the owners affect the nature and type of innovatory activity. We also suggest that since such trends and tendencies are by no means confined to Greece, our findings offer some insight to wider theoretical debate. In particular they imply that the inherent flexibility of the new technology facilitates the internal differentiation of corporations, and threatens to undermine the geographically specific large unit. In an era of flexible automation, the physical concentration of labour and means of production as a necessary condition for the centralisation of command has been gradually overcome. This permitted the large corporations to decentralise production and even withdraw altogether from certain less profitable non-core activities, which henceforth became the responsibility of specialised enterprises. As a result, the most influential section of capital has strengthened its position; but at the same time and by the same token this process has also contributed to an expanded role for small, specialised enterprises.

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Table 1 — Number of Establishments and the Distribution of Employment in the Greek Printing and Publishing Industry, 1958-1988

(a) Number of Establishments by size						
Size:—	1-9	10-49	50-99	50+	100+	Total
1958	1203	165	23		9	1400
1963	1688	205		40		1933
1969	2026	203	17		22	2268
1973	2118	257	16		21	2412
1978	2561	246	19		22	2848
1984	2794	214	24		21	3053
1988	3468	298	22		21	3809
(b) % Breakdown of Establishments by size						
Size:—	1-9	10-49	50-99	50+	100+	Total
1958	85.9%	11.8%	1.6%		0.6%	100.0%
1963	87.3%	10.6%		2.1%		100.0%
1969	89.3%	9.0%	0.7%		1.0%	100.0%
1973	87.8%	10.7%	0.7%		0.9%	100.0%
1978	89.9%	8.6%	0.7%		0.8%	100.0%
1984	91.5%	7.0%	0.8%		0.7%	100.0%
1988	91.0%	7.8%	0.6%		0.6%	100.0%
(c) Employment by Establishment size						
Size:—	1-9	10-49	50-99	50+	100+	Total
1958	3927	3156	1606		1444	10133
1963	5368	3915		4135		13418
1969	5944	3767	1158		3361	14230
1973	6254	4732	1057		4022	16065
1978	7279	4785	1348		4043	17455
1984	7552	3936	1646		4598	17732
1988	9665	5658	1475		6091	22889
(d) % Breakdown of Employment by Establishment size						
Size:—	1-9	10-49	50-99	50+	100+	Total
1958	38.8%	31.1%	15.8%		14.3%	100.0%
1963	40.0%	29.2%		30.8%		100.0%
1969	41.8%	26.5%	8.1%		23.6%	100.0%
1973	38.9%	29.5%	6.6%		25.0%	100.0%
1978	41.7%	27.4%	7.7%		23.2%	100.0%
1984	42.6%	22.2%	9.3%		25.9%	100.0%
1988	42.2%	24.7%	6.4%		26.6%	100.0%
<i>Source: Derived from E.S.Y.E. Censuses of Industry, 1958-1988</i>						

Table 2 — Average Numbers of Persons Employed per Establishment, 1958-1988

Size:—	1-9	10-49	50-99	50+	100+	Total
1958	3.3	19.1	69.8		160.4	7.2
1963	3.2	19.1		103.4		6.9
1969	2.9	18.6	68.1		152.8	6.3
1973	3.0	18.4	66.1		191.5	6.7
1978	2.8	19.5	70.9		183.8	6.1
1984	2.7	18.4	68.6		219.0	5.8
1988	2.8	19.0	67.0		290.0	6.0

Source: see Table 1

Table 3 — Number of Establishments and Distribution of Employment in all SA & Ltd Companies in the Greek Printing & Publishing Industry, 1972-1990

(a) Establishments by specified employment size													
Size:—	1-9		10-49		50-99		100-199		Not Specified		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1972	8	11.1	35	48.6	3	4.2	16	22.2	10	13.9	72	100.0	
1973	18	20.9	40	46.5	5	5.8	18	20.9	5	5.8	86	100.0	
1974	22	22.0	38	38.0	6	6.0	30	30.0	4	4.0	100	100.0	
1975	21	22.8	43	46.7	4	4.3	19	20.7	5	5.4	92	100.0	
1976	24	21.6	48	43.2	8	7.2	20	18.0	11	9.9	111	100.0	
1977	30	23.8	56	44.4	12	9.5	21	16.7	7	5.6	126	100.0	
1978	36	24.7	69	47.3	13	8.9	21	14.4	7	4.8	146	100.0	
1979	48	28.6	80	47.6	11	6.5	24	14.3	5	3.0	168	100.0	
1980	60	30.8	89	45.6	15	7.7	23	11.8	8	4.1	195	100.0	
1981	64	32.3	90	45.5	20	10.1	19	9.6	5	2.5	198	100.0	
1982	70	32.3	101	46.5	21	9.7	18	8.3	7	3.2	217	100.0	
1983	57	26.1	110	50.5	23	10.6	18	8.3	10	4.6	218	100.0	
1984	33	16.9	114	58.5	24	12.3	20	10.3	4	2.1	195	100.0	
1985	48	23.0	116	55.5	17	8.1	23	11.0	5	2.4	209	100.0	
1986	50	22.9	123	56.4	19	8.7	23	10.6	3	1.4	218	100.0	
1987	66	26.9	133	54.3	21	8.6	23	9.4	2	0.8	245	100.0	
1988	66	26.9	130	53.1	23	9.4	24	9.8	2	0.8	245	100.0	
1989	71	26.5	143	53.4	24	9.0	24	9.0	6	2.2	268	100.0	
1990	80	27.2	154	52.4	26	8.8	25	8.5	9	3.1	294	100.0	
1991	91	29.8	149	48.9	30	9.8	26	8.5	9	3.0	305	100.0	

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(b) Employment by Establishment size

Size:—	1-9		10-49		50-99		100-199		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1972	40	1.0	716	17.1	220	5.2	322	76.8	4198	100.0
1973	96	1.9	812	16.3	395	7.9	3676	73.8	4979	100.0
1974	114	2.1	910	16.9	385	7.1	3979	73.8	5388	100.0
1975	104	2.0	1041	20.5	295	5.8	3649	71.7	5089	100.0
1976	122	2.1	1169	19.7	485	8.2	4153	70.0	5929	100.0
1977	139	2.2	1272	19.9	747	11.7	4236	66.2	6394	100.0
1978	170	2.5	1576	23.3	755	11.2	4249	62.9	6750	100.0
1979	229	3.0	1888	24.5	670	8.7	4906	63.8	7693	100.0
1980	283	3.3	2057	24.2	915	10.8	5231	61.6	8486	100.0
1981	290	3.1	2145	23.1	1384	14.9	5476	58.9	9295	100.0
1982	341	4.2	2367	29.1	1395	17.1	4036	49.6	8139	100.0
1983	302	3.6	2445	28.8	1553	18.3	4175	49.3	8475	100.0
1984	193	2.3	2414	28.5	1541	18.2	4310	51.0	8458	100.0
1985	267	3.1	2607	29.9	1166	13.4	4689	53.7	8729	100.0
1986	237	2.8	2569	29.9	1273	14.8	4514	52.5	8593	100.0
1987	336	3.6	2823	30.3	1353	14.5	4799	51.5	9311	100.0
1988	321	3.2	2908	28.8	1515	15.0	5364	53.1	10108	100.0
1989	370	3.4	3171	29.4	1599	14.8	5639	52.3	10779	100.0
1990	437	4.0	3321	30.7	1646	15.2	5412	50.0	10816	100.0
1991	458	4.2	3112	28.5	1830	16.8	5507	50.5	10907	100.0

Source: ICAP, Annual Directory, 1972-1991

**Table 4 — Average Numbers of Persons Employed per Establishment
in SA & Ltd. Companies, 1972-1991**

Size:—	1-9	10-49	50-99	100+	Overall
1972	5.0	20.5	73.3	201.4	58.3
1973	5.3	20.3	79.0	204.2	57.9
1974	5.2	23.9	64.2	132.6	53.9
1975	5.0	24.2	73.8	192.1	55.3
1976	5.1	24.4	60.6	207.7	53.4
1977	4.6	22.7	62.3	201.7	50.7
1978	4.7	22.8	58.1	202.3	4.2
1979	4.8	23.6	60.9	204.4	45.8
1980	4.7	23.1	61.0	227.4	43.5
1981	4.5	23.8	69.2	288.2	46.9
1982	4.9	23.4	66.4	224.2	37.5
1983	5.3	22.2	67.5	231.9	38.9
1984	5.8	21.2	64.2	215.5	43.4
1985	5.6	22.5	68.6	203.9	41.8
1986	4.7	20.9	67.0	196.3	39.4
1987	5.1	21.2	64.4	208.7	38.0
1988	4.9	22.4	65.9	223.5	41.3
1989	5.2	22.2	66.6	235.0	40.2
1990	5.5	21.6	63.3	216.5	36.8
1991	5.0	20.9	61.0	211.8	35.8

Source: see Table 3

Table 5 — Sales, Employment & Costs of Production in the Graphic Arts Branch of Aspioti-ELKA, 1972-1985 (in thousand drs)

	Nominal Sales	Real Sales	Paper+Printing Materials %	Labour Costs %	Capital Costs %	Other Costs %	Total Costs	Emplt	Sales per Employee	Indust. Profit	as % Sales	General Expenses
1972	74,560	109,326	26,798 48.0	21,635 38.7	4,028 7.2	3,385 6.1	55,846	302	362.0	18,714	25.1	11,637
1973	96,546	122,520	35,737 45.8	31,213 40.0	6,816 8.7	4,232 5.4	77,998	376	325.9	18,540	19.2	15,272
1974	108,259	108,259	42,608 46.3	36,559 39.7	7,926 8.6	4,996 5.4	92,089	343	315.6	16,170	14.9	21,262
1975	140,383	123,795	54,276 45.4	50,883 42.5	8,625 7.2	5,873 4.9	119,657	413	299.7	20,776	14.8	30,265
1976	156,558	121,835	61,635 44.4	61,875 44.6	8,328 6.0	6,859 4.9	138,697	348	350.1	17,861	11.4	32,027
1977	164,911	114,442	70,474 42.7	77,517 47.0	10,041 6.1	7,072 4.3	165,104	419	273.1	511	0.3	38,431
1978	189,178	116,633	65,271 41.2	74,355 46.9	10,790 6.8	8,164 5.1	158,580	304	383.7	30,598	16.2	42,945
1979	162,634	84,266	52,789 36.0	77,515 52.8	10,677 7.3	5,808 4.0	146,789	276	305.3	15,845	9.7	37,000
1980	179,284	92,893	53,791 34.9	83,692 54.3	10,239 6.6	6,406 4.2	154,128	206	450.9	25,153	14.0	44,851
1981	177,733	59,244	45,484 30.4	86,498 57.8	10,411 7.0	7,308 4.9	149,701	181	327.3	28,032	15.8	59,333
1982	208,348	57,412	68,413 32.8	111,430 53.5	18,574 8.9	10,037 4.8	208,454	183	313.7	(8,279)	- 4.0	71,616
1983	273,321	62,502	113,759 36.7	163,998 52.9	20,220 ⁽¹⁾ 6.5	11,801 3.8	309,778	216	289.4	(36,140)	-13.2	88,039
1984	302,629	58,558	107,718 30.9	203,968 58.5	19,441 ⁽¹⁾ 5.6	17,411 5.0	348,538	217	269.9	(45,909)	-15.2	137,579
1985	279,978	45,507	84,826 25.1	222,756 66.0	13,113 3.9	16,704 5.0	337,399	193	235.8	(57,421)	-20.5	177,944
Note (1) Estimates												
Source: Company Archives												

Note (1) Estimates

Source: Company Archives

Table 6 — Sales, Employment & Costs of Production in Toubis M. Graphic Arts SA Company, 1979-1985 (in thousand drs)

	Nominal Sales	Real Sales	Paper+Printing Materials %	Labour Costs %	Capital Costs %	Other Costs %	Total Costs	Emplt	Sales per Employee	Indust. Profit	as % Sales	General Expenses
6/79 to 12/80	39,119		12,275 36.3	9,436 27.9	2,809 8.3	9,335 27.6	33,855	19	0.0	5,265	13.5	4,112
1981	28,540	9,513	8,669 36.5	N.A.	2,003 8.4	N.A.	23,755	15	634.2	4,785	16.8	4,589
1982	35,185	9,695	9,954 36.6	7,387 27.1	2,003 7.4	7,884 29.0	27,228	17	570.3	7,957	22.6	7,278
1983	43,965	10,054	12,370 36.3	9,664 28.3	2,281 6.7	9,785 28.7	34,100	21	478.8	9,865	22.4	10,416
1984	50,735	9,817	13,241 38.2	10,799 31.1	2,232 6.4	9,431 27.2	34,703	22	446.2	15,032	29.6	13,416
1985	76,420	12,394	30,799 51.9	15,348 25.9	4,289 7.2	8,884 15.0	59,320	24	516.4	17,100	22.4	19,064

Source: Company Archives

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CRITICAL STUDIES

Redeeming Byzantine Epistolography*

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The Russian scholar V.A. Smetanin, whose work during the 1970s and 1980s dealt exclusively with Byzantine epistolography, would clearly like to think of himself as an 'epistologist', occupied in the specialised field of Byzantine 'epistology'. Epistology is an auxiliary discipline within history, according to Smetanin, which encompasses both theoretical and practical concerns. Its theoretical interests are to work out methods for, (a¹) drawing boundaries between letters and other historical documents, (b¹) dating letters on the basis of their epistological markings (*epistolologicheskikh priznakov*), and (c¹) understanding the introduction and assimilation of correspondence into learned discourse. On its practical side, epistology aims to solve problems of, (a²) the immediate components (*nepocredstvennoe vychlenenie*) of correspondence, (b²) its architectonics, and finally (c²), the introduction and assimilation of the epistolographic legacy into learned discourse. Smetanin opens a middle road within epistology, too, in effect a series of 'steps' (*stupenich*) which converge on both theory and practice. Thus the so-called ἀποχώρισις (a³) takes in the question of the distinguishing features of epistolography, προέλευσις (b³) works out its manner or conduct and ἐφάρμοσις (c³) studies its function or use.¹

When all is said and done, Smetanin suggests, epistology will

*My thanks to Dumbarton Oaks for awarding me a Summer Fellowship to complete research for this article, and to Margaret Mullett for reading it in an earlier draft. Needless to say, all mistakes are my own.

1. V.A. Smetanin, 'Epistololgija Pozdnej Vizantii. Proleusis (konkretno-istoricheskaja chast')', *Antichnaja Drevnost' i Srednie Veka* 15 (Sverdlovsk 1978) 60. The above annotations (which are mine) are useful for understanding Smetanin's complete system. Within the nine separate fields of research, it would seem that *apochorisis* (a³) is the sum of (a¹) and (a²), *proleusis* (b³) the sum of (b¹) and (b²), *epharmosis* (c³), the sum of (c¹) and (c²).

produce concrete benefits for historians. As an auxiliary discipline devoted mainly to source criticism, yet firmly grounded in theory and having in view the furthering of historical knowledge, it can unlock hidden meanings and decipher elaborate codes which would otherwise be inaccessible. When a letter lacks recognisable historical information, for example, one branch of epistological science can be invoked:

Deciphering it is not easy. It is all the more simple to reject the notion of possibly uncovering the idea of the letter, simplifying it all the more or even vulgarising the information contained in it. Neither cursory nor repeated readings are sufficient. It [only] uncovers its secret when the scholar comprehends the ideas of traditional rhetorical formulae which veil it.

Without epistology, in short, the scholar remains seriously handicapped and historical knowledge regrettably locked away. That in fact has been the condition of the study of letters practically since the beginning of modern Byzantine studies, in Smetanin's view, and for the most part persists today.² It should be said that Smetanin's particular views about epistolography and its modern study have seemingly not reached a wide audience outside his own country,³ nor is it sure that the author himself has articulated his system in sufficient detail.⁴ Yet one of the most basic assumptions of his work would certainly find few modern dissenters: his belief that epistolography is worthy of serious scholarly study. As late as the 1930s this view had almost no open supporters, and well into the middle of this century it might be best described as the mere working

2. The quotation is from, 'Idejnoe Nasledie Vizantii "Dekonkretizatsija" (na primere epistolografii)', *Antichnaja Drevnost' i Srednie Veka* 21 (Sverdlovsk 1984) 105. For his detailed but not unbiased view of historiographic developments, cf. *ibid.*, 97-108 *passim*.

3. However, see a select list of his publications, in Elizabeth Jeffreys, 'Epistolography', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, A.-M. Talbot, A.P. Kazhdan, eds., vol. 1 (New York-Oxford 1991) 720.

4. Two of Smetanin's studies were unavailable to me for this article: 'Epistologija Poznej Vizantii. Postanovka problemy i obzor istoriografii', *Antichnaja Drevnost' i Srednie Veka* 14 (Sverdlovsk 1977) 60-76, and 'Teoricheskaja Chast' Epistologii i Konkretno-istoricheskij Efarmosis Pozdnej Vizantii', *Antichnaja Drevnost' i Srednie Veka* 16 (Sverdlovsk 1979) 58-93. By my reckoning, a discussion of his concept of *apochorisis* (and its complements, a¹ and b¹ above), is still missing.

hypothesis of a few.⁵ In more recent decades, by contrast, interest in the study of epistolography has grown steadily. Evidence for this stands out in at least three areas. First, the field has seen a marked increase in the number of critical editions, so much so that all but a few of the most important letters collections are now found in good editions.⁶ Second, modern scholars routinely use letters in their approach to historical problems. While most frequently invoked perhaps for the purpose of understanding a particular author's character and beliefs, letters have also been used to shed light on religious and political events, the economy, social patterns, and the stuff of daily life.⁷ Third, Byzantine epistolography has attracted in its own right a lively following of critics and commentators — 'epistolologists', to use Smetanin's term. The nature of this activity ranges *inter alia* from the treatment of a single author's letters, to general statements about the epistolographic genre itself, notably its theoretical premises and practical dimensions, to studies like that of Smetanin which are concerned primarily with definitions and method. Needless to say, many of these 'epistological' studies make a point of working on several of these generic problems at once, perhaps doing literary criticism or historical research on a particular author's work at the same time.⁸

5. Ioannes Sykutris' two articles in the early 1930s are generally acknowledged to have planted the seeds for a more positive assessment of Byzantine epistolography, contrary to that of Treu, Krumbacher, Dölger, et alios. Cf. his, 'Epistolographie', in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband V, eds. George Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll (Stuttgart 1931) 186-220; 'Probleme der byzantinischen Epistolographie', *Actes du III^e Congrès Int'l des Études Byzantines* (Athens 1932) 295-310.

6. The most complete bibliography of primary sources is to be found in Herbert Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur Der Byzantiner*, vol. 1 (München 1978) 234-38. Additions since 1978 are, however, considerable. See, e.g., *The Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, ed./tr. Angela Constantinides Hero (CFHB 21/DOT 7. Washington 1983); *Theophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres*, ed./tr. P. Hautier (CFHB 16:2. Thessaloniki 1986); *The Letters of John Mauroπους, Metropolitan of Euchaita*, ed. A. Karpozelos (CFHB 34. Thessaloniki 1990).

7. See below, pp.10-14.

8. See, e.g. N. Thomadakes, *Byzantine Epistolographia*, 3rd ed. (Athens, 1969); Hunger, *Literatur*, 199-238; T.V. Popova, 'Vizantijskaja Epistolografija', in C.C. Averintsev, ed., *Vizantijskaja Literatura* (Moscow 1974). See also below, pp.24 et seq.

If one thing is clear from the rush of studies over the last decades, it is that epistolography is both richer and more complex than earlier generations of scholars imagined. It is to some degree redeemed from the neglect and disparagements of earlier days. Smetanin's work certainly reflects this point. Serious questions remain, however, on whether the Russian scholar's particular form of redemption has taken full account of both the nature of the sources at hand and the dramatic changes in the field. Has he gone too far in with his elaborately systemised approach to epistolography or merely pulled up short? There is in fact strong arguments for both accounts.

Philology, History, and the Letter

All historical approaches are not alike.⁹ Hence Smetanin's approach to epistolography is not only historical, but also has a distinct pedigree within the discipline. Whatever name(s) should be used to describe it — 'realist', 'Bollandist', 'positivist' — it is mainly interested in obtaining objective factual information from the letter. To the extent that it relies on 'theory' in this quest, that theory is largely of a philological kind. The theoretical tools of anthropology, sociology, and literary criticism are nowhere to be found.¹⁰

Smetanin's effort is nothing more than the last word on a particular historical approach to the letter. It is perhaps no mistake to see its first and indeed most eventful incarnation in the work of Adolf Deissman toward the turn of the century. Writing about Greek epistolography of the New Testament era, Deissman distinguished between a 'letter', which he deemed to be a private, real, non-literary document full of historical information, and an 'epistle', which was essentially 'ein Erzeugnis literarischer Kunst' based on ancient rhetorical and letter theories and forms. The two kinds of epistolography were distinct from one another, and the number of extant

9. On definitions and trends in the field, cf. John Haldon, 'On the Structuralist Approach to the Social History of Byzantium', *BS* 42 (1981) 203-11; *idem*, "'Jargon" vs. "the Facts"?' Byzantine History Writing and Contemporary Debates', *BMGS* 9 (1984-5) 95-132.

10. For doubts about this approach, see esp. Anthony Littlewood, 'An Ikon of the Soul: The Byzantine Letter', *Visible Language* 10 (1976) 197-226; Margaret Mullett, 'The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, eds. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham 1981) 76-7.

'epistles' far outnumbered that of 'letters'. Between these two classifications, moreover, stood a certain hybrid category — that of 'briefliche Episteln' or 'epistolische Briefe' — letters that were both real and works of art at once.¹¹ But on this very last point Deissman remained reasonably reserved and unclear, which may explain why subsequent scholars hardly remarked on it. What they seized upon instead was his firm distinction between historical 'letters' and literary 'epistles'. And perhaps since the former were ostensibly in such short supply,¹² scholars for the next several generations made it their business to question and test Deissman's classification while also demonstrating the various ways in which his 'epistles' could be employed for historical purposes. Deissman-bashing thus quickly evolved into a field of historical criticism, strongly dependent on classical philology.¹³ A few scholars also bravely sought to illuminate the literary qualities of historical 'letters',¹⁴ but notably less interest centred on the question of the literary qualities of (literary) 'epistles'.¹⁵

Although these developments within classical and New Testament studies initially carried little weight with most Byzantine scholars of the day, by the early 1930s the scholar Ioannes Sykutris began to force the matter in his two brief but remarkable articles about

11. Adolf Deissman, *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt* (Tübingen 1923) 194-7. The original date of publication is 1895.

12. Greek papyrus finds were just emerging in the opening decades of century. See below, no. 14.

13. The debate over Deissman's thesis is reviewed in Sister Monica Wagner's, 'A Chapter in Byzantine Epistolography. The Letters of Theodoret of Cyrus', *DOP* 4 (1948) 121-2. For subsequent studies in the field, see F.X.J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter. A Study in Greek Epistolography* (Washington, D.C. 1923); Sister Lucilla Dinneen, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography to 527 A.D.* (Washington, D.C. 1929); idem, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im griechischen Briefe*, Soc. Sc. Fennica 15:3 (Helsinki 1950) 1-111; Klaus Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Briefepik* (Zetemata Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 48. München 1970).

14. Henry Meecham, *Light From Ancient Letters* (London 1923); Heikki Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraeseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (Helsinki-Wiesbaden 1956).

15. Yet see Sister Agnes Clare Way, *The Language and Style of the Letters of St. Basil* (Washington 1927).

epistolography. Sykutris took issue with Deissman on the grounds that methodological distinctions between the real 'letter' and the literary 'epistle' simply did not fit a culture in which 'private literary letters' predominated, in which the vast majority of extant letters were at once perfectly real and highly literary. This was as true for Byzantium as it had been for the Hellenistic, Roman, and early Christian worlds.¹⁶ The challenge for scholars, Sykutris claimed, was thus to lay the foundations and develop new methods for the interpretation of this peculiar literary source. In his own words:

The deconcretisation of the letter, which was already complete in late Antiquity, became the rule in Byzantine epistolography. Yet often one also finds letter collections which give us a deep insight into the outer and inner life of their author and enrich our historical knowledge. . . . From several collections that are worthless for a superficially fact-seeking historian there is still much knowledge of persons and things to be gained if one undertakes a more exact interpretation and grasps — amidst the effusive verbiage — the emphasis in expression and the hardly detectable refinements.¹⁷

More specifically, 'exact' interpretation of Byzantine epistolography depended upon an approach that was both philological and formal. The philological aspect (*philologische Interpretation*) consisted of producing good editions and comprehensive, objective commentaries for major authors. On the nature of those commentaries, Sykutris stressed that correct datings of letters be sought after, an author's attitudes and biases be remarked upon, names of recipients (where not clearly indicated in lemmata) be hunted down, and — a point we will return to — letter collections themselves be studied from their

16. Sykutris, 'Epistolographie', *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband V, eds. George Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll (Stuttgart 1931) esp. 186-7 and 196-8.

17. *Ibid.*, 219-220: 'Die schon in der Spätantike vollendete Entsachlichung des Briefes herrscht in der Regel in der byzantinischen [Epistolographie]. Aber oft finden sich auch Briefsammlungen, die uns einen tiefen Einblick in das äussere und innere Leben ihres Verfassers gestatten und unsere historischen Kenntnisse bereichern. . . . Aus mancher für ein oberflächlich nach Facten suchenden Historiker wertlosen Briefsammlung lässt sich vieles für die Kenntnis von Personen und Sachen gewinnen, wenn man sie einer genaueren Interpretation unterzieht und an dem überschwenglichen Wortschwall die Abtönung im Ausdruck und die kaum bemerkbaren Raffinements fasst.'

earliest compilation into manuscript form. The formal part (*formale Interpretation*) envisioned that scholars ask the question HOW rather than WHAT of letters, in other words understanding an author's use of language and concepts both in relation to Byzantine norms and according to different times and situations in an author's life. From such an analysis, in Sykutris' view, subjective elements within the author's personality would emerge and nuances would be thrown into sharp relief. The scholar would then, in effect, 'be able to read between the lines what the Byzantine [letter writers] so ardently sought to convey and what was almost always grasped by their readers.'¹⁸

Regrettably Sykutris himself did not find time in the course of his short life to follow up this initial research on the letter, neither elaborating on his methodological principles nor, importantly, trying them out. Moreover, while certain parts of his message were clear enough, such as his call for new and better editions, other parts, including his rather defensive claims that 'several' (only!) collections were worth the historian's attention and that Byzantine letters 'often' (*oft*) proved insightful, could not have inspired great confidence in the sceptical reader. In the decades that followed, numerous major new editions appeared, whether owing directly to his inspiration or not. Not all of these and subsequent editions possessed the rigorous commentary that Sykutris called for, as we will see, which in some cases indicates the impossibility of the task, while in others reflects a certain inertia on the part of their editors. Yet there is still no doubting the dramatic leap forward in the field that these works represented.¹⁹ Furthermore, some recent research has ostensibly gone beyond Sykutris's philological dreams, especially in the matter of tracing the identity of letter correspondents, including both the ambitious *proposopographic* projects in recent decades that have drawn

18. Sykutris, 'Probleme der byzantinischen Epistolographie', *Actes du III^e Congrès Int'l des Études Byzantines* (Athens 1932) 303-7. The quotation is found on p.307: 'Der Philologe kann dann auch zwischen den Zeilen lesen, was die Byzantiner sehr eifrig getrieben haben und beim Leser fast immer voraussetzen.'

19. See n. 6 above.

upon letter collections, and the important cataloguing of Byzantine seal collections.²⁰

So much for the legacy of Sykutris' purely 'philologische Interpretation', arguably a small success story to date. Let us hope that work continues.²¹ The legacy of his 'formale Interpretation', by contrast, has suffered a more tormented afterlife. While subsequent work has refined our understanding of the theoretical background, nature and contemporary function, of Byzantine epistolography, such progress has not typically translated into easier and more effective work for the historian. Notable studies nonetheless include that of Gustav Karlsson, who initiated serious discussion about the sociological function of epistolography. Drawing on antique theory and contemporary practice from the tenth century, he underscored the largely formulaic and ceremonial nature of Byzantine epistolography and argued that its function — far from sending a message — was essentially to bridge distance between friends.²² Hunger followed in a similar vein, highlighting the rhetorical and 'mimetic' nature of letters and characterising epistolographic exchanges as a kind of 'theatre' between Byzantine cultural elites and their friends,²³ while more recently Mullett suggested that subtle ceremonial formulae (forms of address, epithets, etc.) be taken more seriously as features of the protocol of the letter and thus possible evidence for the social status of and the relationship between correspondents.²⁴ Elsewhere Garzya suggested that the changing forms and ideas in letters in some

20. For relevant bibliography, consult the articles, 'Prosopography' by Alexander Kazhdan, and 'Sigillography' by John Nesbitt, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3, 1739-40 and 1894-5, respectively.

21. Psellos' letter collection remains unpublished. On the scholarly work to date, see the section below on Psellos. One hopes that Professor George Dennis will undertake a critical edition in the near future as planned.

22. Gustav Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine. Textes du Xe siècle analysés et commentaires*, 2nd. ed. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 3. Uppsala 1962) esp. 15-16, 21-3.

23. Herbert Hunger, *Reich Der Neuen Mitte. Der christliche Geist der byzantinischen Kultur* (1965) 340-4. See also *idem*, *Literatur*, 208-12.

24. Margaret Mullett, 'The Language of Diplomacy', in *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers From the 24th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, eds. Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepherd, (London 1992) 215.

sense reflect social and political changes in the Empire.²⁵ Notable, too, are the observations of Littlewood and Ševčenko on stylistic features, the first reiterating the importance of modulations in epistolographic formulae and clichés as indications of an author's personality, the latter noting the significance of an author's choice of one literary style over the other options available to him.²⁶ Finally, numerous scholars have pointed out that Byzantine letters often preserve only part — the written part — of the intended message conveyed by the sender, and indeed even this message is often purposely obscured.²⁷

Taken as a whole, this group of studies has partly worked within the spirit of Sykutris' 'formale Interpretation', but also in part worked to produce new and positive methodological approaches. Not surprising, perhaps, some of this scholarship suggests the need for more rigorous and refined philological and historical methods. Mullett's study of 'protocol', for example, would certainly benefit from the availability of comparative lists of terms of epistolographic address, epithets, and adjectival designations. Some or all of these would, ideally, be incorporated into modern day prosopographies that draw upon letter collections. Another implication of these studies, however, is perhaps more unexpected. Despite the marked progress in the field since Sykutris' time, or indeed in some cases because of it,²⁸ studies about epistolographic theory and method have often run an independent course from those studies seeking information

25. Antonio Garzya, 'L'epistolografia letteraria tardoantica', in *La trasformazione della cultura nella tarda antichità, Atti del Convegno*, M. Mazza e Claudia Guiffrida, eds. (Roma 1985) 366-9.

26. Littlewood, 'Ikon of the Soul', 217-19; Ihor Ševčenko, 'Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose', *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 307-12.

27. On obscurity in epistolography, Thomadakes, *Epistolographia*, 88-9; Littlewood, 'Ikon of the Soul', 209-12; George Dennis, 'The Byzantines as Revealed in their Letters', in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75*, John Duffy and John Peradotto, eds. (Buffalo, N.Y. 1988) 157. On the underlying rhetorical concept, George L. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Thessaloniki 1973) 63-100. On the role of the messenger, cf. Thomadakes, *Epistolographia*, 76-7; Karlsson, *Idéologie*, 17-21; Hunger, *Literatur*, 229-30; Margaret Mullett, 'Writing in Early Medieval Byzantium', in Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1990) 181-2, 184.

28. See below, pp.233 et seq.

from the letter. Discussions about the 'essence', 'nature', and 'function' of the letter have often been difficult to reconcile with the task of garnering historical information from it. The coordinated process of 'thinking' about letters and at the same time 'doing' them historically, in short, has proved stunningly difficult.

To understand just how difficult is the task, let us briefly examine a few recent historical studies that depend more or less exclusively on Byzantine letters. One trend among these studies has been to emulate the 'superficially fact-seeking' research described by Sykutris. In this sort of treatment, historians largely ignore the philological and formal complexities of epistolography, aiming instead to harvest scattered bits of information that are ostensibly unaffected and unobscured by the peculiarities of the source material. Karpozelos' recent study of late Byzantine 'realia' is a good example of this tendency. Declaring the limitations of his research at the outset, including a pledge 'to let the texts speak for themselves and with a minimum of analysis', the author compiles an impressive dossier of foods, wines, books, clothing, and other items from daily life in Byzantium.²⁹ Karpozelos' study reflects a mechanical but nonetheless useful approach to the letter, concerning itself mainly with tangible things, not people or ideas. Together with the information drawn from other contemporary sources, it will certainly be the cornerstone of future interpretative studies on daily life in Byzantium.

A very different treatment of both daily life and epistolography was undertaken by Ljubarskij, whose study of elite social interactions in the eleventh century represented a serious attempt to extract information while also weighing the letter's philological and formal peculiarities. Not content merely to harvest information, Ljubarskij's strategy was akin rather to an excavation of the extant letters of the period, most notably those of Michael Psellos. He began his study of the letters with the observation that the collection of this author should be analysed as a united whole and that more study be dedicated to understanding, in particular, its earliest compilation and evolution;

29. Apostolos Karpozelos, 'Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XIc', *BZ* 77 (1985) 20-37; *idem*, 'Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII-XVc', *BZ* 88 (1995) 68-84.

for establishing firm chronologies and weighing the impact of lost and re-edited pieces depended on such work.³⁰ A more ambitious aim — indeed the main thrust of the study — was to ‘unmask’ Psellos, to isolate his peculiar personality traits by understanding his ‘role’ in the ‘human comedy’ of elite eleventh-century letter exchanges. The premises of Ljubarskij’s method are worth quoting at length:

While an artist in all his rhetorical subtleties, the Byzantine epistolographer never went so far as to open his entire self in a letter, or even a series of letters to one addressee. Following the universal law of rhetoric — accommodation (*ymestnosti*) — he, on the contrary, adapted not only his words, but also his choice of thoughts and feelings to the addressee, manifesting one and the same ‘*prothesis*’ (*proteism*), which for long was considered to be one of the fundamental virtues of a clever orator. Through the course of different letters it is more easy to judge the character of their addressees than that of their author. The boundaries of the modification and adaptation of the Byzantine epistolographer are nonetheless not without limits. While each time appearing in the new guise, he does not simply change his mask, but in the event he also realises a certain particle of his ‘I’, each time generalising and letting out — behind the features, in their entirety — a certain side of his personality. This process has, as a rule, two sides: the author not only ‘becomes’ (*‘delaet cebja’*) his addressee, but he also ‘adapts’ (*‘prespocablibaet’*) his [addressees’] features to himself. . . . By penetrating into the images it is possible to follow the relationships of a great number of his correspondents, to clarify — wherever possible — the fundamentals of his sympathies and antipathies, that is to say, to understand the internal world of Psellos: while hidden in each separate letter, an image of the author must come forth from the entirety of his correspondence on the whole.³¹

This brief review cannot pass full judgment on the historical value of Ljubarskij’s study,³² except to suggest that it remains certainly the most ambitious, and arguably the most successful venture of its kind. Still it is not without certain limitations. What Ljubarskij isolated as revealing moments in Psellos’ self-portraiture and telling observations about his contemporaries, for example, may strike others as just another topos and once again begs the question about how

30. Ja. Ljubarskij, *Michail Psell. Lichnost’ i Tvorchestvo. K Istorii Vizantijskogo Predgumanizma* (Moscow 1978) 36, 59.

31. *Ibid.*, 39. For a broader discussion about method, see *ibid.*, 36-9.

32. Cf. the reviews of, e.g., A.P. Kazhdan, *BZ* 73/1 (1980) 346-8; Marie Onatzky-Malin, *B* 49 (1979) 565-66; F. Tinnefeld, *BS* 40 (1979) 227-31; G.G. Litavrin, *VV* 42 (1981) 192-6.

modern scholars are to isolate and interpret topoi.³³ Furthermore, conclusions based on statistical considerations may be premature until a full codicological study of Psellos' letter collection has been done.³⁴ To these limitations can be added those imposed by the author himself. Ljubarskij cautiously avoided drawing overreaching conclusions based on his reading of Psellos' letters. His interest was the personality of his author and the nature of Psellos' contacts with others, not necessarily the significance of these issues to the larger social, religious and political movements of the day.³⁵

Falling methodologically somewhere in-between studies like those of Karpozelos and Ljubarskij is V.A. Smetanin's *Byzantine Society XIII-XV Centuries On the Basis of Epistolography* (in Russian). Published in 1987, about a decade after Ljubarskij's study of Psellos, this work claimed to have overcome some of the problems of earlier historiography by virtue of its reliance on 'epistology', an auxiliary historical discipline that Smetanin himself had developed in the years leading up to this publication.³⁶ It was ambitious in other ways, too, investigating not only social life in the strict sense, but also the late Byzantine economy, social stratifications and tensions, political ideologies, and to a lesser extent political developments over a two-

33. E.g., *ibid.*, 42-3 about his student days; *ibid.*, 109-110 about the complaints of provincial judges. On this last point, cf. the views of Theophylact of Ohrid outlined by Margaret Mullett, in 'Byzantium and the Slavs: The View of Theophylact of Ochrid', *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Abstracts* (Baltimore 1986) 235. See also her 'Originality in the Byzantine Letter: The Case of Exile', in *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art, and Music*, ed. A.R. Littlewood (Oxford, 1995). I regret to say that other articles from the latter publication were unavailable to me at the time of writing this article.

34. Cf., e.g. *ibid.*, 70 about the intensity of letter exchanges between Psellos and John Doukas; *ibid.*, 100 about the number of letters of recommendation by Psellos on behalf of the wealthy.

35. Cf. *ibid.*, p.111 and p.83 n. 59. See, however, his comments about friendship in *ibid.*, 120: '... friendship, for the philosopher, is not simply a standardisation of similar formulae for use in letters of the 'friendly' type, it is also indeed a definite and essential system of people bonding at different levels, suggesting not only expressions of mutually friendly feelings, but also active action for the benefit of the 'friend'. It is possible to go even further: as a universal personal body 'friendship' serves as a peculiar substitute for official bonds and plays a not insubstantial role in social life and the functioning of the governmental machine of eleventh-century Byzantium.'

36. V.A. Smetanin, *Vizantijskoe Obschestvo XIII-XV Vekov Po Dannym Epistolografii* (Sverdlovsk 1987) 3-20, esp. 15-20, 66-7.

hundred-year period. Whether it succeeded in these aims is certainly open to question. Despite his professed adherence to epistology, Smetanin often reverted to the simple 'fact-seeking' methods of earlier historians. It is difficult to mistake his chapters on the economy, society and political developments for anything else.³⁷ Where epistology was conscientiously employed, on the other hand, it seemed to break down under the stress of so many authors and letter collections. Unlike the closely argued study of Ljubarskij, Smetanin's book remained unconvincing in its comparative approach to collections of terms, phrases, and anecdotes. Notably in his remarks about social tensions and his chapter on political ideology, the author simply took much of his information at face value, not really delivering on his earlier promise to unlock secret meanings from the confines of epistolographic rhetoric.³⁸ To his credit, Smetanin has ventured into territory that others carefully avoided. Yet it remains highly questionable whether his or any other historical method can hope to wring coherent information from the letter on such a wide range of subjects over such a broad chronological period. Despite Smetanin's epistology, therefore, late Byzantine letters by themselves do not seem able to answer the questions he has asked.

Literature, Theory, and the Letter

Since the 1930s some scholars have hailed Byzantine epistolography as a major contribution to world literature and one of the literary fields in which the Byzantines surpassed antiquity.³⁹ Seemingly often, however, there has not been clear agreement about what that literary value might consist of. To some scholars 'literature' certainly still means a literary source with documentary value for historians. This is certainly the spirit in which Karpozelos, Ljubarskij, and Smetanin approached epistolography, and they were by no means alone. With few exceptions scholarly discussions about the Byzantine

37. *Ibid.*, 73-119, 129-45, 212-23.

38. *Ibid.*, 135-45, 146-67.

39. Cf. Sykutris, 'Probleme', 295-6; Mullett, 'Classical Tradition', 75-7; Dennis, 'Byzantine Letter Writing: A Positive View', *The Tenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts* (Cincinnati 1984) 10; *idem*, 'Revealed', 161.

letter gravitate toward an evaluation of its historical value.⁴⁰ The history of the Byzantine letter as literature in the strict sense still remains to be written.

A small number of recent studies will certainly facilitate that task. Scholarly articles by Littlewood and Mullett, in particular, have made a point of trying to wrest the letter from the grip of historical analysis and examine it primarily in terms of its literary value. Clearly their initiatives should not be seen in complete isolation; indeed one stream in modern historiography — beginning with Sykutris and continuing through Karlsson, Kustas, Hunger and others — investigated the literary qualities of the letter in the context of broader discussions of either an historical or technical nature.⁴¹ Notably, too, Littlewood and Mullett themselves traverse back and forth over the fine line between historical and literary considerations.⁴² Yet what makes their general outlook new and compelling is the attempt to put the artistry and aesthetic properties of the letter into sharper focus. On one hand, they unapologetically insist on questioning WHAT epistolography has to offer, though not precisely the WHAT that modern historians seek. On the other, the question of HOW epistolographers expressed themselves in relation to the norms of the genre and according to different times and situations — their subjectivity, in other words — is seen as much as a window into the artist's soul as it is a window into the soul of the individual person. With both of these perspectives on the letter, we stand on fairly new and unusual

40. Cf. Antonio Garzya, *Introduzione alla storia letteraria di Bisanzio* (Napoli 1970) 87-8; Hunger, *Literatur*, 214-33; T.V. Popova, 'Vizantijskaja Epistolografija', in C.C. Averintsev, ed., *Vizantijskaja Literatura* (Moscow 1974) esp. 181-2; Elizabeth M. Jeffreys and Alexander Kazhdan, 'Epistolography', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 1 (New York-Oxford 1991) 719-720. Cf. also, for the Medieval West, the comments of Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 17 (Turnhout 1976) 11-16, 66.

41. Sykutris, 'Probleme', esp. 298-303; Karlsson, *Idéologie*, 15-111 passim; Kustas, *Byzantine Rhetoric*, 34-54, 65-8; Hunger, *Literatur*, esp. 199-213.

42. On transcending the letter-writer's persona in order to grasp his/her true personality, Littlewood, 'Icon of the Soul', 217. On the social significance of a letter-writer's obscurity, Mullett, 'Writing', 179. On the study of genres for clarifying historical events, *eadem*, 'The Madness of Genre', *DOP* 46 (1992) 240-43.

ground — a literary analysis of the (literary) letter.⁴³

Littlewood's central contribution was his affirmation of the letter as a work of art. The scattered quotations found in epistolography, for instance, should not be regarded as mere stock material drawn mechanically from epistolary handbooks, but rather as the product of the letter-writer's free and quite conscientious choice. Incidents of repeated references within an author's collection, or shared references between collections, were indeed relatively low. There is even the suggestion, according to Littlewood, that epistolographers sought out unusual quotations in order to strengthen and decorate their prose.⁴⁴ These findings are consistent with his understanding of the priorities of Byzantine epistolographers in conceiving their letters. Artistry, according to Littlewood, was a fundamental concern of nearly every letter-writer:

Virtually every Byzantine letter was intended to be a piece of literary art, to fulfil the obligations of friendship or to convey information. Most letters combined two or even all three functions, but the first was rarely absent (since, however, it was the main criterion for selecting letters for preservation, our surviving corpus cannot be truly representative).⁴⁵

Considerations of a letter's stylistic beauty, its fitness before the laws of rhetoric and atticism, and its cultivation of a *persona* were thus all of paramount importance.⁴⁶ At the very least these were basic requirements for a letter that may also have served other functions, such as friendship or the transmission of a message. But certainly in some cases they acted as the main pretext for the letter itself.

Among Mullett's broad range of interests, her work on the meaning and function of letters in contemporary Byzantine society stands out.

43. To my knowledge, the only comparable study from earlier decades is Sister Monica Wagner's 1948 article on the letters of Theodoret of Cyrus: 'A Chapter in Byzantine Epistolography. The Letters of Theodoret of Cyrus', *DOP* 4 (1948) 119-81.

44. A.R. Littlewood, 'A Statistical Survey of the Incidence of Repeated Quotations in Selected Byzantine Letter Writers', *Gonimos, Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75*, John Duffy and John Peradotto, eds. (Buffalo N.Y. 1988) 138-54.

45. Littlewood, 'Ikon of the Soul', 201.

46. *Ibid.*, 203-19.

Although more complete and articulated than that of Garzya, this aspect of her approach seems nonetheless consistent with the Italian scholar's formulation of the letter as form of 'litteratura d'uso strumentale' (*Gebrauchsliteratur*): for both authors were interested in precisely what the letter was in *real time*, what its senders and recipients experienced through their correspondence.⁴⁷ Pursuing this difficult question, Mullett followed Littlewood in drawing attention to the artistry of the letter.⁴⁸ Her analysis also branched out into a number of new directions, on one hand asking innovative questions about the letter, on the other turning to history, art history, and literary and social scientific theory for help in answering them. Part of the artistry of the letter, she suggested, was to maintain tension between formal and subjective features. While its impact may be lost to us today, for Byzantine readers:

The Byzantine letter was above all a vehicle for emotion, and comes closest in Byzantine literature to what we often think of as a characteristic of lyric poetry, a powerful, but compressed emotional charge . . . epistolography, which distils emotion in frozen time, has taken the place of lyric poetry.⁴⁹

A number of frequently recurring themes in letters, such as friendship and consolation on a death or sickness, were particularly fruitful material for building up such tension and delivering the charge.⁵⁰ Yet there were also features particular to the letter exchange itself, she maintained, that contributed to its emotive properties. The gifts that frequently encumbered letters presumably did so.⁵¹ More important, though, according to Mullett, were the ceremonies and rituals characteristic of Byzantium's 'residually oral society, in which

47. Antonio Garzya, *Testi letterari d'uso strumentale*, *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 263-71.

48. Mullett, 'Classical Tradition', 75-85 *passim*.

49. *Ibid.*, 82. A more closely articulated and slightly revised analysis of the generic aspects of the letter is found in Mullett's, 'Madness', 236-7, 240-3. Here — presumably without giving up any 'tension' — she characterises the letter as a combination of a 'form' (i.e. the means of performance and delivery/the letter form) and a 'type' (in effect, that which is dictated by the *Briefsituation*). Hence just as in other genres and subgenres, a letter is created 'when the type meets the axis of the form' (pp.236-7).

50. *Ibid.*, 80-1; *eadem*, 'Writing', 175-6.

51. *Ibid.*, 182-3.

writing, pictures, and speech each had its place.' The written word, a speech act, and visual imagery all came together in the letter-exchange — so far as existing art historical and written evidence permits us to see — from the moment of a letter's delivery through the minutes and hours after its reception when the addressee fondled, marvelled at, and hotly discussed the artistry of the work with his friends before tucking it away in his collection. The letter exchange was, in Mullett's words, 'a multi-media experience . . . combined in an expected ceremonial.'⁵²

Mullett's evidence comes mainly from the tenth century, an age when epistolographic artistry was ostensibly at its height, and she was careful to point out that not all extant letters of this or any other age bore the same emotive features she has described. 'Political' letters and probably many of the non-extant letters, for instance, aimed at a lower level of artistry.⁵³ Exaggerating distinctions between different classes of letters, on the other hand, has no merit in her view. For example, she found that diplomatic letters did not diverge from the private letter nearly as much as scholars have supposed. Despite obvious differences, both classes of letters demonstrate literary pretensions, share common themes and *topoi*, and are attended by distinctive and often identical ceremonies, such as the exchange of gifts.⁵⁴

Such problems of chronology and classification point to one of the many challenges facing literary scholars. Littlewood and Mullett have effectively defined the immediate terms of the literary history of the letter, though the majority of their evidence comes from highly polished literary letters of the tenth century. Since at present only general impressions of literary developments are available for other periods, much less across the centuries,⁵⁵ more dedicated work outside the tenth century and diachronically across periods would

52. *Ibid.*, 169-73 and 179-5 *passim*; quotations, 185. For a discussion of the orality of Byzantine literacy and the concept of 'residually oral society', 156-60, esp. 159-60.

53. *Ibid.*, 169-73. Mullett characterises the letters of Nicholas Mystikos to Symeon and those of Theodore of Stoudios, for example, as 'political'.

54. *Eadem*, 'Diplomacy', 203-15, esp. 212 *et seq.*

55. Cf. Mullett, 'Classical Tradition', 85-92; Popova, 'Epistolografija', 182-4 *et seq.*

be welcomed.⁵⁶ In light of Mullet's recent work on genres, furthermore,⁵⁷ another challenge ahead is to attempt to understand more precisely what variables contributed to generic developments within epistolography at any given time and to what extent letter-writing was indeed a dynamic process. How heavy was the weight on letter-writers of epistolographic theory and tradition, notably that compiled before the close of the fourth century but also ongoing commentaries, over and against the variables of a presumably changing demands of audience, immediate circumstances and occasions, current fashions, the vicissitude of education, the availability of appropriate reference books, and the writer's own developing literary talents? Can it be called a state of tension at some junctures and a symbiosis at others, and why? And to what extent does the evidently substantial oral component of the letter affect the relationship of these variables? In short, one road of the research ahead will need to pursue further the question of to what degree letter-writing is a closed literary system, with admittedly its own changing literary variables — including admixtures with other genres — and to what extent, in what ways, and when is it truly interactive (i.e. 'd' uso strumentale') at other levels beyond the received tradition, and perhaps why?⁵⁸ Such questions, it should be noted, also concern various current schools of literary criticism.⁵⁹

While these questions derive mainly from recent work within Byzantine studies, a glance at other disciplines suggests some further avenues of research. The Ancient Epistolography Group, founded in 1973 and described below by John White, points in one direction:

56. Cf., for the West, Constable, *Letters*, 27 et seq. For Byzantine epistolography in the twelfth century, see now Margaret Mullett, 'Originality', 39-58.

57. Mullett, 'Madness', 236-7, 240-3.

58. On future research for Byzantine literature in general, cf. Margaret Mullett, 'Dancing with deconstructionists in the Gardens of the Muses: new literary history vs. ?' *BMGS* 14 (1990) 261-75, esp. 261-5 and 269-70, and Michael Jeffreys, 'Literary Theory and the Criticism of Byzantine Texts (abstract)', *Byzantine Studies in Australia Newsletter* 24 (1990) 9. On letters in particular, Mullett, 'Writing', 184.

59. A brief description of and bibliography about phenomenology, reader response research, and reception research studies are to be found in Michael Graden and Martin Kreiswirth, *The John's Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism* (Baltimore-London 1994), and Jeremy Hawthorn, *A Glossary of Contemporary Literary Theory*, 2nd. ed. (London-New York 1994).

The Ancient Epistolography Group arose because some of us who had been analysing ancient letters had begun to suspect that our conclusions, as well as our more tentative hypotheses, were being formed in a vacuum. We knew that the disposition toward the subject was sometimes wrong-headed and that the state of the research was incomplete in enough respects that we felt uncomfortable with broader definitions of the genre. This discomfort was closely allied with a knowledge that most analyses were taking place in isolation from a vast amount of extant letters in other languages.⁶⁰

White and his colleagues carried their collaboration into the early Byzantine centuries, but their main interest was the intersection between Semitic, Persian, late antique Greek, and Latin epistolographic traditions. My point here is not to evaluate their work, which was nonetheless considerable,⁶¹ only to highlight the potential fruitfulness of comparative work between Byzantine and neighbouring traditions. Reception theory, especially that used by comparative literary critics, may be of use in this regard.⁶² Ultimately such collaboration may add another variable(s) to the dynamic generic developments noted above.

A second avenue of new research will not likely add to our knowledge of genre, but could instead deepen our appreciation of the letter-writer's dispositions and intentions. Computer-aided text analysis, a relatively new methodological tool, has already proven to be useful in a number of fields. Among literary critics, for example, computer-aided collocation analysis has been used to build up 'semantic profiles' of an author's work, selecting *reprends* (repeated words and phrases) in a work and then plotting on 'phrasal graphs' the frequencies of collocated words and phrases that fall within the textual boundaries of those *reprends*. As Ian Lancashire, literary critic of Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*, explains:

60. John L. White, 'The Ancient Epistolography Group in Retrospect', in *Studies in Ancient Letter Writing*, ed. J.L. White (Semeia 22. Chico, California 1982) 1.

61. See the series of articles in the above-cited publication. See also, e.g. John L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia 1986).

62. Cf., e.g., Z. Konstantinovic, M. Naumann, H.R. Jauss, *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of the Comparative Literature Association* (Innsbruck 1980); Rien T. Segers, ed. *Actes du XI^e Congrès de l'Association Internationale d' Littérature Comparée* (Études de réception 8. Bern-Berlin 1993); *idem*, *Dynamics and Progress in Literary Studies. Some Notes on a Neglected Topic in Literary Scholarship with Special Reference to Reception Research* (LUMIS-publications 35. Siegen 1993).

Repetition reveals something static in an author's thinking or imagination, what does not change one chapter to another. Phrasal graphs, then, describe *ongoing conditions or states*. For that reason they prove a useful check on critics who make sweeping generalisations about the content of a text.⁶³

A simpler version of collocation analysis plots the frequency of word and phrase usage, such as floral imagery or references to the body. But this is generally a more useful tool for bolstering or debunking particular readings than interpreting texts in their entirety.⁶⁴ Under certain conditions both methods could prove nonetheless important in the analysis of Byzantine letters. One condition is technical: the matter of creating computer-readable Greek texts that everyone can use — a common family of digitally encoded texts, in other words — a challenge that will ideally be addressed by scholars along the lines of the ongoing Perseus Project for classical Greek and consisted with the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) or one of its equivalents.⁶⁵ Another condition concerns the nature of Byzantine source material and authorship. For collocation analysis to be successful, the texts in question will have to be in some sense representative of the author's total work. In the case of letters, in particular, scholars will therefore need to have a relatively clear idea about the letter-collection from which their material is drawn and judge the value of its computer-generated evidence accordingly. Moreover, the use of collocation analysis depends on the assumption that an author's work is in some sense original, not merely a mechanical collation of formulae. But here, at least based on recent

63. Ian Lancashire, 'Computer-Assisted Critical Analysis: A Case Study of Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*', in George P. Landow and Paul Delany, eds., *The Digital Word: Text-Based Computing in the Humanities* (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1993), 306.

64. *Ibid.*, 298-303. More information about TACT (= Text Analysis Computing Tools) — one of the programs that performs collocation analysis — can be found on the World Wide Web at: [HTTP://www.chass.utoronto.ca:8080/cch/tact.html](http://www.chass.utoronto.ca:8080/cch/tact.html).

65. On these initiatives for other languages and fields, including important bibliography, cf. Paul Delany and George P. Landow, 'Managing the Digital Word: The Text in An Age of Electronic Reproduction', in *The Digital Word*, 3-28; Steven J. DeRose, 'Markup Systems in the Present', in *ibid.*, 119-35, esp. 128-30. Note, also, Peter M.W. Robinson, 'Redefining Critical Editions', in *ibid.*, 271-93. I will appreciate information from anyone on recent initiatives in Byzantine Greek digital text encoding. My thanks to Prof. Larry Poos of Catholic University for attracting my attention to the SGML/TEI and TACT initiatives.

Byzantine historiography reviewed above, there is probably less reason for concern. Collocation analysis would indeed be applicable.

Cross-cultural studies and computer-aided text analysis will presumably prove as useful to historians as it will to literary scholars. In fact, collocation analysis has already been successfully used by historians outside the Byzantine field.⁶⁶ Furthermore one of the most convincing historical approaches to the letter to date within the Byzantine field has taken language use and literary analysis as its points of departure — the work of Ljubarskij — and these new methodologies will only put more tools in the hands of those who follow in the Russian scholar's footsteps. By the same token another promising research field, computer-assisted network analysis, will arguably serve the interests of historians more directly. One project in network analysis is already in the works in the Byzantine field, the publication of its results keenly awaited.⁶⁷ Most work to date, however, has been conducted outside the field. The aims of network analysis, according to one scholar in the field, Stana Nenadic, are:

... to identify changes in network types and, in addition, to explore the character and significance of the *events* from which social networks are constructed and via which new information and ideas are transferred ... *event* refers to any action that creates a link between two individuals; it might be a deliberate personal *event* such as having a meal with a relative, a casual *event* such as meeting an acquaintance in the street, or an indirect *event* such as receiving a letter.⁶⁸

Nenadic's comments refer to her work on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century diaries, though comparable *events* could also be followed

66. Mark Olsen and Louis-Georges Harvey, 'Computers in Intellectual History: Lexical Statistics and the Analysis of Political Discourse', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18/3 (Winter 1988) 449-64.

67. Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid. Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 2) (Aldershot 1996).

68. Stana Nenadic, 'Identifying Social Networks with a Computer-Aided Analysis of Personal Diaries', *Historians and Computing III: Historians, Computers and Data, Applications in Research and Teaching*, Evan Mawdsley, Nicholas Morgan, Lesley Richmond and Richard Trainor, eds., (Manchester and New York 1990) 189. For additional bibliography, see esp. L. Milroy, *Language and Social Networks* (Oxford 1980); J. Boissevain, *Friends of Friends: networks, manipulators and coalitions* (Oxford 1974); J. Boissevain and J.C. Mitchell, eds., *Network Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction* (Den Haag, 1973).

and examined in the Byzantine letter. Her description of network types with *multiplex structures* — i.e. a social group with relatively close, rigid, dense social links — fits the general environment of Byzantine letter-exchanges. At the same time the nature of the Byzantine letter itself — close to speech, partly reflective of normal experience, often dateable — makes it a good candidate for statistical analysis.⁶⁹ Using network analysis, therefore, the *events* of any number of Byzantine social relationships could be explored, including friendship, spiritual kinship, blood kinship, etc.⁷⁰ Based upon what letter-writers ask for, how they ask for it, to whom and under which circumstances, one may also be able to identify and understand client-patron relationships much more clearly.⁷¹ While there are surely other applications of network analysis as well, its reliability and ultimate success depends on adequate source criticism (including an evaluation of the reporting value of the sample, in this case either all or part of a letter collection or collections), exact definitions of terms and methodologies, and accurate recording mechanisms. Without these building blocks, any subsequent models and interpretations generated from the data will be worthless.

Letters in Current Scholarship

The Byzantine publications reviewed thus far have all placed a premium on the study of epistolography. While by no means answering all questions about methodological approaches to letters, they have established some fundamental formulations and directions. In the final section of this review, it may be useful to survey to what degree this body of knowledge about letters has trickled down into everyday scholarship. And if it has not, should it have? Recent work on five authors will be briefly reviewed.

69. *Ibid.*, 188-9.

70. See, e.g., my 'Abbot Theodore and the Stoudites: A Case Study in Monastic Social Groupings and Religious Conflict in Constantinople (787-826)' (PhD diss., Fordham University, 1993), esp. Part II and Appendix A.

71. See, e.g., Margaret Mullett, 'Patronage in Action: the problems of an eleventh-century bishop', in R. Morris, ed., *Church and People in Byzantium, The 20th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (Birmingham 1986) 125-47.

Basil of Caesarea

Rather remarkably, Basilian scholars have shown great concern for the evolution of the saint's letter collection. Benoît Gain has shed some light on its beginnings, noting that Basil was not keen to see his letters circulate too widely and probably wrote many letters with his own hand rather than employing scribes. Gain also guessed at the number of lost letters.⁷² Fedwick's monumental codicological study suggested a number of additional points about the collection, including the hypothesis that no one archetypal text of the letters existed and that, agreeing with Gallay, letters were gathered together from the first in batches arranged according to the name of the addressee, probably by Basil himself. This was the 'natural' state of the earliest collection, which later scribes and editors disrupted. And because of their evidently heavy intervention, according to Fedwick, the fidelity of the texts has been seriously compromised.⁷³ Gribomont added a short note about the redactors, identifying a 'misogynist' recension of the letters in which the name of a female addressee is censored.⁷⁴ Pouchet, pondering their work as well, speculated that later editors of the letters willfully manipulated the original collection in order to cast Basil as a literary genius and true holy man. They were motivated to do so, perhaps, out of a desire to bring peace and unity to a divided church.⁷⁵

These reflections on Basil's letter collection, while interesting in their own right and relevant for editors, can also be important for the interpretation of the saint's life and works. Another step in this direction has been taken by Gain and Pouchet, who provided addenda to Courtonne's critical edition with their prosopographic lists of

72. Benoît Gain, *L'Église de Cappadoce au IV^e siècle d'après la correspondance de Basil de Césarée (330-379)*, OCA 225 (Rome 1985) 32-36.

73. Paul J. Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis: A Study of the Manuscript Tradition of the Works of Basil of Caesarea; I: The Letters* (Turnhout 1993) xxviii-xxxii, 665-68.

74. Jean Gribomont, 'Les Régles Épistolaires de saint Basil: lettres 173 et 22', *Antonianum* (1979) 255-7; reprinted in *Saint Basile Évangélisme et Église, Mélanges* (Spiritualité Orientale 36. Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1984).

75. Robert Pouchet, *Basile Le Grand et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondance. Une stratégie de communion* (Studia Ephemerides 'Augustinianum' 36. Rome 1992) 47-72, esp. 70-2.

addressees.⁷⁶ Gain and Fedwick may have aided our understanding of the nature of letters in suggesting that the saint apparently preferred oral to written forms of communication.⁷⁷ By contrast, certain observations about the saint's views on letter writing and letter-exchanges appear rather naïve. Unmistakable *topoi*, like Basil's reference to the joy of receiving letters and the dread of silence, have been taken at face value.⁷⁸ It should also be questioned whether the saint's expressed concerns about messengers and the possibilities of his letters falling into unwanted hands were themselves literary conventions or, as Gain suggested, truly reflected reality and indeed affected the content of individual letters.⁷⁹

Perhaps no subject in Basil's letters has attracted so much attention as that of his social relationships. Some scholars have attempted to examine it statistically, though regrettably without enough attention to the issue of whether their sample would report accurately on this issue or not.⁸⁰ Others have approached particularly his friendships in more traditional ways and with considerable evidence, but perhaps without enough attention to the conventions of the epistolary genre in this regard;⁸¹ or, indeed, without precise evidence to support their sweeping claims.⁸² Still a number of scholars have investigated the saint's social relationships together with a clearer exposition of the nature of their evidence. Spadavecchia has made some interesting

76. *Ibid.*, 766-88; Gain, *L'Église de Cappadoce*, 399-402.

77. *Ibid.*, 354-5; Paul J. Fedwick, *The Church and Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto 1979) 169-73.

78. Cf. Abe Attrep, 'Wisdom from the Letters of Saint Basil', *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 6 (1987) 239-47, esp. 241; Carla Spadavecchia, 'Some Aspects of Saint Basil of Caesarea's Views on Friendship, Compared with those of his Pagan Contemporaries', *Kleronomia* 15 (1983) 308-9.

79. Gain, *L'Église de Cappadoce*, 28-30.

80. Cf. Treu, '*Philia* und *Agape*'. Zur Terminologie der Freundschaft bei Basilios unter Gregor von Nazianz', *Studii Clasice* 3 (1961) 423; Thomas Alan Kopechek, 'Social Historical Studies of the Cappadocian Fathers', (PhD diss., Brown University, 1972) 197-210, esp. 202-10.

81. Cf. Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford 1994) 233-69, esp. 233-4; Leokadia Malunowicz, 'Le problème de l'amitié chez Basile, Grégoire de Nazianze et Jean Chrysostome', *Studia Patristica* 16:2 (1985) 412-17, esp. 415-17.

82. Ioannes Karayannopoulos, 'St. Basil's Social Activity: Principles and Praxis', in *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Aesthetic*, Paul J. Fedwick, ed., (Toronto 1981) 378-90, esp. 384.

observations on how Basil made and unmade his friends; whether her expressed awareness of letter theory and scholarship contributed much to her findings is another matter.⁸³ More enterprising are the recent works of Gain and Pouchet, both of which expressed sensitivity to codicological and generic problems.⁸⁴ Either work would have benefitted from a more closely argued approach akin to that of Ljubarskij.⁸⁵ Gain, for example, often resorts to quoting Basil's letters rather than interpreting them. Pouchet's work is by contrast highly interpretative. While impressive in his commitment to reconstructing the 'dialogue' between Basil and his correspondents, at times the resonance of Pouchet's own concepts threatened to interfere with this speech. His picture of the saint as furiously engaged in a 'stratégie communionnelle' within the church was certainly a valid reading of Basil's 'dialogues', though certainly not the only or last.⁸⁶

Theodore of Stoudios

Fatouros' recent edition of Theodore's letters, while valuable in countless ways, gave relatively little information about the earliest formation of the collection, only brief attention to the matter of lost letters, and mere summary remarks about the abbot's language and style. For historians, moreover, a more complete index would have been useful.⁸⁷ All of these problems, for the most part, await the attention of future scholars.⁸⁸

Much of the recent scholarship using the abbot's letters has been of the fact-finding sort, treating them together with and similar to

83. Carla Spadavecchia, 'Views on Friendships', 303-8.

84. For the former see above. For the latter, Gain, *L'Église de Cappadoce*, ix-xii; Pouchet, *Basile Le Grand*, 31-43.

85. See above, pp.222-24.

86. *Ibid.*, 75-85, 689-91.

87. *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, Georgios Fatouros, ed. (CFHG 31. Berlin 1992) 39*-42*, 126*-128*. In the index of names (pp.979-84), only Theodore's addressees are included.

88. See, however, Georgios Fatouros, 'Die Abhängigkeit des Theodoros Studites als Epistolographen von den Briefen Basileios des Grossen', *JÖB* 40 (1991) 61-72. On the formation of the collection, moreover, consult the older works of Melioranskij and Dobroklonskij.

other sources of the period.⁸⁹ More specific cases in point are two recent articles that have looked at the letters closely for proposographic purposes, Turner convincingly,⁹⁰ and Alexakis less so. Alexakis' attempts to identify the addressee of Theodore's letter 499 with abbot Niketas of Medikon depended on a number of unproven and possibly unwarranted assumptions about Theodore's mood and style, such as the significance of the abbot's use of the first-person plural in his address.⁹¹ Until further proof is brought forth, questions also remain about his view that Theodore would have deliberately addressed his correspondent as the 'monk' Niketas rather than 'abbot'. It is certainly fair to ask, for example, whether this was simply the work of later scribes or, if not, whether the abbot typically made such gestures when he was (allegedly) upset with someone.⁹² Other notable recent articles are by Patlagean, Gouillard, and Talbot and Kazhdan. Patlagean's study was insightful on a number of accounts, including her attention to the particular forms of address that the abbot employed for the Roman pope compared to those used by his contemporaries, and her subtle suggestion that the existence of letters, and even letter-exchanges, does not necessarily imply true dialogue between two parties.⁹³ The articles by Gouillard and Talbot/Kazhdan have remarked on the abbot's seemingly extraordinary level of concern for and interactions with women. Both studies

89. Cf. Theodor Nikolaou, 'Die Entscheidungen des VII. ökumenischen Konzils in ihrer Bedeutung für den didaktischen Wert der Bilder', in *Bild und Symbol — glaubenstiftende Impulse*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulz and Jakob Spiegl, (Würzburg 1988) 70; V.V. Bychkov, 'Die philosophisch-aesthetischen Aspekte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites', in *Der byzantinische Bilderstreit* (München 1980) 63. See also my 'Theodore of Stoudios, Pope Leo III and the Joseph Affair (808-812): New Light on an Obscure Negotiation', *OCP* (forthcoming); *idem*, 'Women of Discipline During the Iconoclast Age', *BZ* (forthcoming).

90. David Turner, 'The Origins and Accession of Leo V (813-820)', *JÖB* 40 (1990) esp. 181-6.

91. Alexander Alexakis, 'A Florilegium in the Life of Nicetas of Medikon and a Letter of Theodore of Stoudios', *DOP* 48 (1994) 195. For the tenth century, Karlsson, *Idéologie*, 142, points out that use of the first-person plural may suggest that others are with the addressee or that the letter is intended for a wider audience.

92. Alexakis, 'A Florilegium', esp. 195-7. Another obvious question is why Niketas would have allegedly followed the advice (p.197) of someone who has treated him so badly.

93. Evelyn Patlagean, 'Les Stoudites, l'empereur et Rome: figure byzantine d'un monachisme réformateur', in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell' alto medioevo, Spoleto, 3-9 aprile 1986*, vol. 1 (Spoleto 1988) 440-3.

offered statistical proofs of intensive correspondence, which were certainly striking and ultimately persuasive despite lingering concerns about the reliability of reporting in Theodore's and other letter collections, owing to the intervention of later editors.⁹⁴ In addition, each study reported on the immediate circumstances of the abbot's female correspondents as well as attempting to disclose his attitudes toward them through a variety of means, including an analysis of his use of terminologies of address, the specific character of his relationships with these correspondents, and the epithets and associations with which he described them.⁹⁵ All of these are insightful approaches to the subject, though it seems clear that the interpretive work on this rich material has only just begun.

Missing from recent scholarship, in contrast to that on Basil, are studies concerned with Theodore's larger social and spiritual network.

Nicholas Mystikos

The story behind Nicholas' letter collection makes for fascinating reading. It also typifies the problems researchers encounter, and must address, when interpreting certain letter collections. The edition by Jenkins and Westerink inherited a number of assumptions about the letter collection and added more of its own. About a decade earlier Darrouzès proposed that numerous letters found in ms. Patmos 706 among the letters of Symeon the Logothete be attributed instead, on the basis of style, contents, and association, to Nicholas.⁹⁶ Jenkins and Westerink were quick to accept some of these into the new edition, hesitant about others, and doubtful about a few. At any rate, the criteria they employed and their final definition of the collection, whether right or wrong, certainly bears further consideration.⁹⁷ The same is true for their view of the chronology of some of the letters.⁹⁸ The

94. Jean Gouillard, 'La femme de qualité dans les lettres de Théodore Studite', *JÖB* 32:2 (1982) 445; Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Women and Iconoclasm', *BZ* 84/85 (1991/2) 396-7, 408. About the statistical base, *ibid.*, 397. See also above, n. 74.

95. Gouillard, 'La femme de qualité', 446-52; Kazhdan/Talbot, 'Women', 397-400.

96. Jean Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle* (Paris 1960) 35-8.

97. *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople Letters*, eds./tr. R.J.H. Jenkins and L.G. Westerink (CFHB 6. Washington, D.C. 1973) xxxi-xxxvii.

98. A.P. Kazhdan, 'Bolgaro-vizantijskie odnoschenija v. 912-925 gg po peripiske Nikolaja Mistika', *Études Balkaniques* 12/3 (1976) 97-107, esp. 92-4.

vast majority were attributed to Nicholas' second patriarchate (912-23), even though several of those were practically undateable upon internal evidence. They cannot be dated securely upon the grounds of their placement in extant mss. either, since nothing is known about the principle of order in the earliest compilation(s), whether or not it derives from a 'patriarchal file' or 'archetype' noted by the editors. One must take a critical view, therefore, to their 'strong presumption' that all but a few letters fall with Nicholas' later term in office, owing to the fact that earlier letters were 'either destroyed by Nicholas before his arrest [in 907], or seized by authorities after it.'⁹⁹ Whatever the case, by this time Karlin-Hayter had already noted how puzzling it was that sources like those of Nicholas, ultimately a victor in the tetragamy affair, failed to survive.¹⁰⁰

Recent commentaries on the letters are quite limited. Mullett grouped them with a number of other 'political' letter collections,¹⁰¹ then upon closer inspection traced the conscientious literary concerns that run through both the shorter personal letters and, intriguingly, the longer diplomatic ones.¹⁰² On a different note, Baldwin showed the failings in Nicholas' recollections of Roman history. His bungled tales suggest a propensity to, in Baldwin's view, 'either confuse the past or skillfully manipulate it to comment upon the present.'¹⁰³ On the strength of suggestive notes, alone, further research into the patriarch's language and style is merited.

Historians have regularly used Nicholas' letters to follow contemporary interactions between Byzantium and Bulgaria.¹⁰⁴ The way is open for new studies, notably of Nicholas' social and spiritual network.¹⁰⁵

99. *Ibid.*, xxx-xxxi.

100. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, 'Le Synode à Constantinople à 912 et la rôle de Nicolas le Mystique dans l'affaire de la tétragamie', *JÖB* 19 (1970) 61.

101. Mullett, 'Writing', 172-3.

102. *Eadem*, 'Diplomacy', 211-12.

103. Barry Baldwin, 'Nicholas Mystikos on Roman History', *B* 58 (1988) 174-8.

104. See the bibliography in Alexander Kazhdan, 'Nicholas I Mystikos', *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2, 1467.

105. For Nicholas and friendship, see only the passing comments of J.Ch. Konstantinides, *Nikolaos A' Ho Mystikos (c. a. 852-925 m. ch.)*. *Patriarches Konstantinopoleos (901-907, 912-925)* (Athens 1967) 171-2.

Michael Psellos

The great importance of Psellos' letters, on a number of accounts, has long been recognised.¹⁰⁶ Yet despite an already large and growing accumulation of published individual pieces, the collection remains unpublished. Indeed such is the state of things that at one point two editors were working independently — and apparently unknown to one another — on the same selection of letters.¹⁰⁷

About the compilation of Psellos' letters, almost nothing is known. Maltese has cautiously suggested that no single archetype underlies the extant group of manuscripts.¹⁰⁸ Gautier's work would not seem to cast immediate doubt on this point. In his Paris gr. 1182, a major source for Sathas' earlier edition, he found large numbers of the philosopher's letters. But the editorial principles behind this chaotic collection, let alone its precursors, was impossible to discern in Gautier's view.¹⁰⁹

These unresolved codicological problems have been responsible, in part, for much uncertainty about the dating and destination of many letters. Dating and attributing individual letters has become somewhat of a sport, with a wide array of methods employed, ranging from comparisons of different mss. readings, to weighing internal historical evidence, to observing critically 'la polivalenza et la iteratività di alcune espressioni,' and much in-between.¹¹⁰ Discussions of Psellos' language and style, while figuring in some of these proofs, have also been addressed in passing elsewhere. His own expressed

106. Cf., e.g. Sykutris, 'Probleme', 295, 304-5; Hunger, *Literatur*, 341, 344-5; Thomadakes, *Epistolographia*, 66, 81-2.

107. The list of titles is too long to give here. But, in addition to the older works of Sathas and Kurtz-Drexler, cf. U. Criscuolo (1973, 1990²); Gautier (1977, 1986); A.N. Zaicev/Ja.N. Ljubarskij (1978); Karpoulos (1980); M.L. Agati (1980, 1986); M.D. Spadaro (1981); K. Snipes (1981); E.V. Maltese (1987, 1988, 1989).

108. Enrico V. Maltese, 'Varia Byzantina', in *Heptachordos Lyra Humberto Albini oblata*, F. Sisti and E.V. Maltese, eds. (Genova 1988) 30-1.

109. Paul Gautier, 'Deux manuscrits pselliens: le parisinus graecus 1182 et le laurentianus graecus 57-40', *REB* 44 (1986) 46-59.

110. Cf., e.g., Paul Gautier, 'Lettre au sultan Malik-Shah rédigée par Michael Psellos', *REB* 35 (1977) 74-6; Maria Dora Spadaro, 'Un epistola di incerta attribuzione (Nr. 202 Sathas) ed una simiedita (Nr. 203 Sathas)', *JÖB* 30 (1981) 161-4 with quotation (above) on p.163; Enrico V. Maltese, 'Epistole inedite di Michele Psello. II', *Studi italiani di Filologia Classica*, 3 ser. 5 (1987), 214-16; G.G. Litavrin, 'Tri pisma Mihaila Psella Katakalonu Kekauvmena', *Revue Études Sud-Est Européennes* 7 (1969) 462-5.

views about letter-writing have attracted attention, as have the later pronouncements by Joseph Rhakendytes and Gregory of Corinth in praise of Psellos' style.¹¹¹ Ljubarskij's study, on the other hand, demonstrated how Psellos the letter-writer worked in practice, how he could adapt his level of speech — everything from mood to imagery — to suit his addressee's propensities and tastes.¹¹² Anastasi, in a splendidly argued piece, independently corroborated this view. The philosopher's insertion of learned references to the tree of everlasting life, the moon, the sun, etc. were by no means arbitrary choices, he argued, but rather provided an exact connotational context and mood for the letter, reflective of the addressee's social position and immediate circumstances.¹¹³ A similar if more cunning example of Psellos' accommodation to his audience was found by Snipes. The letter in question, an admiring account of the feats of Romanos IV Diogenes, would appear to Snipes to be just the opposite. Encomium meant, in the event, caricature.¹¹⁴

Since Ljubarskij's history, few notable studies of the letters have appeared. On the strength of the Russian scholar's work, together with that of Tinnefeld, we are better informed about the philosopher's theoretical and practical stance toward friendship than we are for any other Byzantine figure.¹¹⁵ The same cannot be said for his world of ideas. Ljubarskij's study did not pretend to be comprehensive, treating only those aspects of Psellos' personality that emanated from his relationships with others.¹¹⁶ Other aspects have been addressed, though not altogether satisfactorily, in more recent studies. Anastasi drew attention to Psellos' rich use of traditional language and symbolism, deeming it his 'most important rhetorical device' and the

111. Cf., Thomadakes, *Epistolographia*, 81-2; George Kustas, 'The Function and Evolution of Byzantine Rhetoric', *Viator* 1 (1970) 65; idem, *Byzantine Rhetoric*, 47; Littlewood, 'Ikon of the Soul', 216.

112. Ljubarskij, *Michail Psell*, esp. 72-4. On this, see also Ševčenko, 'Levels of Style', 307.

113. Rosario Anastasi, 'Michel Psello al Metropolitani di Euchaita (Ep. 34, pp. 53-56 K.D.)', *Studi di filologia bizantina* 4 (Catania 1988) 105-120, esp. 108-15.

114. Kenneth Snipes, 'A Letter of Michael to Constantine the Nephew of Michael Cerularios', *GRBS* 22 (1981) 104-7.

115. Franz Tinnefeld, "'Freundschaft'" in den Briefen des Michael Psellos', *JÖB* 22 (1973) 152-68; Cf. Ljubarskij, *Michail Psell*, esp. 117-22.

116. *Ibid.*, 122-3.

'only possibility [he had] for combining the "nous" with ornate speech.' In other words, there were deeply personal convictions that lay beneath the philosopher's language, especially a profound nostalgic attachment to the past.¹¹⁷ But Anastasi has offered no particular proof for this tempting hypothesis, nor does his argument here seem entirely consistent with the ideas about Psellos' adaptable literary style that he pursued in another article of about the same time.¹¹⁸ A much more detailed picture of Psellos comes from Dante Gemmiti, who based his account on letters that he characterised as sincere, spontaneous, and 'reflective, in large part, of real circumstances.'¹¹⁹ The author used the letters, accordingly, with little regard to their literary complexities and context. Ultimately his study represents a diligent 'fact-finding' account of Psellos' views, though the figure that emerges appears oddly prosaic and homogenised compared to that we know from other accounts — Ljubarskij's, but even that of Anastasi.

Demetrios Kydones

The modern edition of Kydones' letters by Loenertz bears a unique distinction. It was based, in large part, on an annotated and autographed copy of Kydones' personally compiled letter collection as well as other mss. closely tied to the author. The information drawn from these materials helped Loenertz to understand, among other things, the processes of collection and principle of ordering of the pieces, the nature of amendments to the text, and to some extent the management of information, such as the names of recipients. Most of these editorial decisions were either taken or directly dictated by Kydones himself, suggesting thus that the earliest surviving mss. reflect the very letter collection that Kydones himself envisioned. Loenertz rightly sought to reproduce the plan of that original collection

117. Rosario Anastasi, 'Psello e le Kinolexia', *Studi di filologia bizantina* 4 (Catania 1988) 55-79, esp. 76-9. For the quotations, '... diviene per lui il procedimento retorico piu importante (p.76)', 'l'unica possibilità per legare il "nous" al parlare ornato' (p.77).

118. Above, no. 113.

119. Dante Gemmiti, 'Aspetti del pensiero religioso di Michele Psello', *Studi e Ricerche sull' Oriente Cristiano* 6/1 (1983), 88-9.

('le rédaction définitive') in his edition. 'We conform,' he noted, 'to the author's wishes.'¹²⁰

Since Loenertz's edition, no scholar has reflected seriously upon the implications of this insight into the 'author's wishes', either for Byzantine epistolography in general or for the literary concerns of Kydones in particular.¹²¹ Most commentary on the letters has come instead from scholars primarily interested in their historical value. Notably, Kianka remarked upon their abiding literary qualities and pointed in particular to a subgroup within the collection, mainly letters of friendship, that were written in grand style with 'classical sensibility', frequent citations, and often highly obscured language. As a historian, one of her strategies for dealing with markedly literary letters was to isolate 'functional allusions' in them in order to obtain historical insights.¹²² Another notable recent contribution was made by Tinnefeld, who sought to examine the 'Stilstufen' in Kydones' letters. This consisted mainly of his classifying letters by either the grand, medium, or simple style, then showing which style Kydones turned to on what occasions and for which addressees. His conclusions, not unlike those of Ljubarskij and Anastasi discussed above, suggested that Kydones typically accommodated his style to suit the specific occasion of the letter and the status and circumstance of its addressee. The high style was predominant.¹²³

As in other letter collections, 'friendship' emerges as one of the main themes of this one too. But to date historians have treated the matter rather unevenly. The pioneering study of Kianka, though

120. *Démétrius Cydonès: correspondance*, ed. Raymond Joseph Loenertz, 2 vols. (1956-60), esp. vol. 1, pp.iii-xiii, vol. 2, pp.v-xiv. The quotation is from vol. 2, p.v. Cf. also, *idem*, 'Les recueils de lettres de Démétrius Cydonès', *Studi et Testi* 131 (Vatican City 1947) esp. 1-30. Loenertz's findings are nicely summarised in Frances Kianka, 'Demetrius Cydones (c.1324-c.1397): intellectual and diplomatic relations between Byzantium and the West in the Fourteenth Century', (PhD diss., Fordham University, 1981), 5-6, 214.

121. I will be examining this problem for Kydones in a forthcoming article.

122. On their historical value, Frances Kianka, 'The Letters of Demetrios Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina,' *DOP* 46 (1992) 155-63; *eadem*, 'Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations', 4. On their style, *ibid.*, 10-13.

123. Franz Tinnefeld, 'Kriterien und Varianten des Stils im Briefcorpus des Demetrios Kydones', *JÖB* 32/2 (1982) 257-64.

much more interested in other issues, nonetheless alluded to Kydones' friendships countless times. She briefly followed the course of some friendships and occasionally qualified others as 'good', 'close', 'long', etc. At the same time it is rarely clear what meaning and function they had for Kydones and, in particular, to what extent the loyalties between himself and his friends weathered the difficult and conflictive times they lived in.¹²⁴ In contrast to Kianka's discursive treatment, Tinnefeld focussed on a specific few friendships. Written over a decade apart, his two articles on the question to some extent reflected changes in the scholarly field at the time. Both articles followed the progress of Kydones' friendships — the earlier one with a certain George the Philosopher, the later with the tragic Rhadenos — but only his second study made serious use of literary criticism and attempted to come to terms with the exact nature of the friendship. Tinnefeld characterised the bond between Kydones and Rhadenos as a teacher-student relationship with a strong emphasis on enjoying classical learning, ethical formation, and discovering and pursuing truth. In hindsight, this pattern of friendship does not seem unlike that between Michael Psellos and the nephews of Michael Keroularios, or perhaps in some ways that between John Mauropos and Psellos, as described by Ljubarskij.¹²⁵ When a more comprehensive study of Kydones' friendships is made, it will be instructive to look at these and further parallels with the information of different letter collections such as Psellos'.

Apart from friendship, the problem of Kydones' ideas and personality has featured prominently in recent scholarship. Kianka has followed this issue closely and competently in her picture of Kydones as, among other things, a fiercely independent thinker.¹²⁶ An eye to the fragile nature of the evidence was shown throughout, notably

124. Kianka, 'Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations', 64-5, 70-1, 146, 180-1, 187, 198, 202, 273. Cf. also *eadem*, 'Helene Kantakouzene', 155.

125. Franz Tinnefeld, 'Georgios Philosophos. Ein Korrespondent und Freund des Demetrios Kydones', *OCP* 38 (1972) 143-68; *idem*, 'Freundschaft und "Paideia": Die Korrespondenz des Demetrios Kydones mit Rhadenos (1375-1387/8)', 211-36, esp. 229-36. On Rhadenos, see also the note by George Dennis, 'Rhadenos of Thessalonica, Correspondent of Demetrios Cydones', *Byzantina* 12 1 (1985) 261-72.

126. Kianka, 'Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations', 199-206, 223-4, 281-3. Cf. R.J. Loenertz (+) and G.T. Dennis, 'Trois lettres de Dèmètrius Cydonès relatives à la fiscalité byzantin', *OCP* (1984) 438-45.

in her acute observation that his letters omit mention of so many important topics of his day.¹²⁷ Another of her observations has been endorsed independently by Tinnefeld, namely that Kydones suffered from fits of depression. In his brief picture of Kydones' life, Tinnefeld particularly insisted on the point.¹²⁸ The thesis is a tempting one, to be sure, though questions remain as to whether the evidence — a *topos*? — is unambiguous. The treatment of generic matters is perhaps more problematic in three other studies of Kydones' world of ideas. Karathanases had little to add to earlier accounts about the 1383 siege of Thessaloniki, much less about Kydones' reaction to it. Regrettably, the frequent quotations in this study generally outweighed any critical assessment of Kydones' views.¹²⁹ In the article by Poljakovskaja, by contrast, literary *topoi* and language use were seriously weighed — in conscious imitation of Ljubarskij's methods — in order to shed light on some of Kydones' political views. The highly rhetorical and encomiastic character of Poljakovskaja's evidence to a great extent precluded the sort of analysis made by Ljubarskij, however, and as a result her conclusions appeared more or less predictable.¹³⁰ Finally, returning to the historian Smetanin, we read another close examination of Kydones' use of language and concepts, aimed at judging his reaction to the social tensions of the day. From Kydones' allusion to metaphors of the danger at sea, among other things, Smetanin observed that:

social contradictions (*sotsial'nye protivorechija*) — and internal danger — are revealed not in concrete, straight-forward form, but rather secretly, through the descriptively-expressive medium of language.¹³¹

Danger-at-sea metaphors are not uncommon in Byzantine epistolography, however, and while clearly creating a mood of gloom they

127. *Ibid.*, 50-1.

128. Cf. *ibid.*, 51-2; Franz Tinnefeld, ed., *Demetrios Kydones Briefe*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1981-2) 54-60, esp. 58-9.

129. Athanasios Karathanases, 'Xanadiavazontas ten allelographia Demetriou Kydones kai Manouel Palaiologou 1382-1387', in *Christianike Thessalonike* 3 (1989) 65-86, esp. 73-8.

130. M.A. Poljakovskaja, 'Dimitrij Kidonis i Ioanni Kantakuzin (k voprosu o politicheskoj kontseptsii seredeny XIV v)', *VV* 41 (1980) 173-82, esp. 182. Cf. Kianka, 'Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations', 37-50 passim, 199-200; Tinnefeld, *Briefe*, 53.

131. Smetanin, *Obschestvo*, 137-8.

do not necessarily indicate class conflict. Smetanin's analysis, while valid to a point, would thus seem to have reached too far.

Conclusion

The good news from this brief review of current scholarship is that some researchers have found recent developments in the field of epistolography beneficial, or have themselves forged a better approach to their material. In some cases merely the appearance of a new edition, supplemental index, or commentary has made the difference, in others the evolving body of literature which addresses particular historical or literary problems. That is not to say that every approach to letters needs to turn to auxiliary studies; indeed, some of those aids are of arguable value. What is clear, though, is that scholarship stays better informed when it takes account of the nature of the unified collection it is dealing with (where possible) and the peculiar generic properties of letters (where discernible). Not doing so can and does lead to incomplete or mistaken readings.

There is less reason to celebrate in other respects. For example, some very basic epistolographic concerns, such as friendship, still await the attention of historians. This is the case both for several individual authors and within nearly all chronological periods.¹³² The parenthetical remarks just above — 'where possible' and 'where discernible' — point to two other challenges ahead. First, while most major Byzantine letter collections have been published,¹³³ in many instances questions remain about the origins and, therefore, profile of these collections. The issue is not merely how many letters are included or lost and why, but also whether letter writers or the editors of their works shaped a collection for this purpose or that, effectively distorting our image of its literary or historical value. The second point concerns our present understanding of the epistolary genre. Recent work in the field has opened several new avenues of inquiry, though the coverage of these studies is limited. Moreover, a sea of

132. See, however, Margaret Mullett, 'Byzantium: A Friendly Society?' *Past and Present* 118 (1988) 3-25.

133. For a list of 355 late Byzantine collections, many of the small of which remain unpublished, see Smetanin, *Obschestvo*, 27-57.

practical research lies ahead in, among other things, tracking down and examining problematic *topoi*, following the subtle changes of address forms and epithets, and measuring modulations in style within collections.

Whatever the particular directions of future research, the larger picture is one in which codicologists, philologists, literary critics and theorists, and historians must borrow on one another's findings. Collaborative work is perhaps the best way ahead. Or, failing at that, scholars can and should cross boundaries into other fields as needed. The continued redemption of Byzantine epistolography may depend on it.

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The bad relations between Alexander and Leo

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It is well known that there was an element of tension, not to say hatred, between the imperial brothers Leo VI (886-912) and Alexander I (912-913). This fraternal enmity appears to have emanated primarily from Alexander himself, as the *Life of Euthymios* makes explicit.¹ Certainly during Leo's reign Alexander, his co-emperor, was implicated in two plots against his brother. The first is located in the period from late 899 to early 900, a very sensitive moment in Leo's reign as his second wife Zoe Zaoutzaina had just died without providing him with a male heir. The *Life of Euthymios* reports that at this time Alexander was suspected of designing to overthrow Leo, and as a punishment he was separated from his wife.² The second plot in which Alexander was thought to have been involved was that which led to the assassination attempt on Leo in the church of St. Mokios during the feast of Mid-Pentecost 903.³ Such was Leo's suspicion of his brother that he kept him well away from the tasks of an emperor,⁴ and it seems that ultimately he considered removing Alexander as the imperial colleague of his son Constantine VII and appointing the logothete of the drome Himerios as guardian of the young emperor instead.⁵ However Alexander did come to power on the death of Leo in 912, and his brief reign suggests the depth of

1. P. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP. Text, Translation, Introduction and Commentary* (Brussels 1970) 5. 20-21, 67. 24-25.

2. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii* 55. 21-24.

3. For the chronicle account see *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker *CSHB* (Bonn 1838) 861; for the account of the *Life of Euthymios*, see Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii* 67. 1-30. Note that the *Life of Euthymios* names Nikolaos as the prime suspect: Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii* 73. 24-75. 7.

4. *GMC* 872.

5. See B. Flusin, 'Un fragment inédit de la vie d'Euthyme le patriarche?', *TM* 9 (1985) 119-131, esp. 129. 97-100; 10 (1987) 233-260, esp. 237-239.

his antipathy for his sibling as it is characterised by its policy of overturning what Leo had established: the treaty with the Bulgarians was rejected, the Arabs were offended, the patriarch Euthymios was deposed and Nikolaos was reinstalled, Zoe Karbonopsina was ejected from the palace, Constantine VII ran the risk of castration, and Himerios was sacked and imprisoned.⁶ Thus it is clear from our sources that there was a high degree of animosity between Leo VI and Alexander, which largely issued from the younger brother. What the sources do not indicate is why this should be so, and in this short note I aim to provide an explanation.

One might be tempted to suggest that Alexander's antagonism sprang simply from the fact that he found his position as co-emperor frustrating. However this explanation is not sufficient, for it is said that Alexander was *already* ill-disposed towards Leo at the time of the death of their father Basil I (867-886).⁷ Why should this be so? Jenkins suggests 'dynastic reasons' for Alexander's hatred of Leo, apparently having in mind the infamous dubious birth of Leo since he credits Basil with the same emotion for Leo for the same reasons.⁸ Thus in Jenkins' view both Basil and Alexander detested Leo because they believed him to be the son of the Amorian Michael III (842-867). Certainly the chronicler stresses that Alexander was a 'genuine' son of Basil,⁹ and there can be no doubt of this for Michael was dead by the time of Alexander's conception. Even if today one rejects the story that Leo was the son of Michael, there is no denying that Alexander himself could have believed it. Thus Jenkins' theory that Alexander hated Leo since he was not a true Macedonian can hold water, but I would like to suggest that there was in fact a much more concrete reason for Alexander's attitude to his brother, that his hatred was born not out of any concern about theoretical birthright but rather out of concern for the realities of

6. See P. Karlin-Hayter, 'The Emperor Alexander's Bad Name', *Speculum* 44 (1969) 585-596, repr. *Studies in Byzantine Political History* (London 1981) XV; R.J.H. Jenkins, 'The Emperor Alexander and the Saracen Prisoners', *SBN* 7 (1953) 389-393, repr. *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries* (London 1970) XV.

7. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii* 5. 20-21.

8. R.J.H. Jenkins, *Byzantium. The Imperial Centuries AD 610-1071* (London 1966) 199.

9. *GMC* 841.

imperial power. What provoked Alexander's hatred for his brother, I contest, is that Leo had quite literally deprived him of becoming Basil's successor in power in 886.

It is notorious that Leo and Basil did not have the most stable of relationships, and this had led to Leo being imprisoned in 883 on suspicion that he was plotting to kill Basil. Jenkins has shown that this imprisonment, during which Leo lost all imperial status, lasted for a period of three years.¹⁰ Thus the question arises of what arrangements Basil made concerning a successor in this period, and the obvious answer is that he called on the next in line after Leo, Alexander. That this is what happened is lent credence by the similar situation that had occurred in 879 when Basil's eldest son and heir-apparent Constantine died; Basil had simply turned to the next son in line, Leo. The scenario that Alexander became Basil's heir-apparent in 883 has indeed already been envisaged by Vogt,¹¹ though it does not seem to have been taken on board by other Byzantinists, despite its unerring logic, both in political practicalities and the subsequent feelings of Alexander for Leo. Perhaps the reason that Vogt's theory did not catch on was that he had no hard evidence. That no Byzantine testimony exists may not surprise us, for Alexander's moment of prominence was short lived as he was shoved back into the shadows again upon the liberation and restoration of Leo in 886, an event which clearly made a more popular and dramatic impression than Alexander's temporary promotion. However there does appear to be confirmation of this hypothesis in an Arab source, Masudi.¹² He relates that after the death of Basil, Alexander had taken the throne, but the people of Byzantium had become discontent and replaced him with his brother Leo. Thus it seems clear that after Leo's removal from power in 883 Basil turned to Alexander as his heir. However

10. R.J.H. Jenkins, 'The Chronological Accuracy of the "Logothete" for the Years A.D. 867-913', *DOP* 19 (1965) 91-112, esp. 101-102, repr. *Studies on III*.

11. See A. Vogt, *Basile Ier empereur de Byzance (867-886) et la civilisation byzantine à la fin du IXe siècle* (Paris 1908) 61, 156; 'La jeunesse de Léon VI le sage', *Revue Historique* 174 (1934) 389-428, esp. 418, 421.

12. See Masudi in A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II. 2, *La dynastie macédonienne (867-969)*, French edition, M. Canard (Brussels 1950) 38-39.

Alexander's period of importance was brief for Leo was restored as heir-apparent in July 886, and he mounted the throne in the very next month following the death of Basil from injuries sustained during a hunt. Alexander found himself once again reduced to the position of co-emperor, any dreams he had of sole power shattered, or at least postponed. Given this situation it is no wonder that Alexander is reputed to have hated his brother with such a passion.¹³

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13. For further consideration of the Alexander-factor of Leo's reign see my *The Reign of Leo VI (886-912). Personal Relationships and Political Ideologies* (PhD Thesis St. Andrews 1994) esp. Chapter 8.

The immaterial presence of women in contemporary Greek theatre*

ELIZABETH SAKELLARIDOU

Since the beginning of the 1970s the women's/feminist theatre has gained a dominant position on the European and the American stage. Women have stormed the postmodern stage either as solo dramatists and artists or as collaborative teams, forging a new female theatre language and training audiences to new ways of theatre reception. The publication of Lizbeth Goodman's *Contemporary Feminist Theatres: To Each Her Own* (Routledge, 1993), one in a long series of recent studies on women's theatre, already heralded an advanced epoch of a polyvocal feminist theatre embracing a multiplicity of female differences along the paradigms of gender, race, sexuality and ethnicity. Within the dynamic spectrum of development and intercultural exchange that ensued in the field of women's theatre the Greek women's contribution is faceless and anaemic. The situation is both distressing and calling for systematic research, especially since the scanty sociological studies concerning the position of women in contemporary Greece are inadequate in throwing full light on such a complicated problem. In 1992 Savas Patsalidis made the first serious attempt to analyse the foetal state of women's theatre in Greece in his article 'Greek Female (Feminist?) Theatre: A Preliminary Approach', published in the Greek journal *Utopia* (4, Nov.-Dec. 1992, 105-38). My own interest in the issue in my capacity as a feminist and drama critic springs from my long-standing research in British women's theatre and my understandable comparative inquiry, as a Greek national, into the causes that might have led to the striking absence of an analogous phenomenon in my native country. I have deliberately used the word *immaterial* in the title of this paper in

* This article developed from a talk I gave at the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Birmingham in November 1994.

order to suggest, on the one hand, the relative lack of a distinct theatre discourse of women as speaking subjects and moving bodies on stage, inscribing female experience and female desire, and, on the other hand, the unimportance, in terms of power, of women theatre practitioners as still very few of them hold key positions in theatre institutions and the theatre industry.

Making a cursory comparison with the state of women's theatre in Britain I draw the conclusion that in many respects the situation of women theatre practitioners in Greece resembles the 'New Woman' epoch (i.e. the turn of the century) in Britain. There are a good number of glowing new actresses in Greece at the moment, women with high performing capacities, with strong personalities and progressive ideas, who come up with strong individual views about contemporary women's lives and problems, especially those of professional women. In August 1994 there was an interesting TV interview on female issues with actresses Olia Lazaridou and Katia Dandoulaki, conducted by Liana Kanelli, herself a successful TV journalist and career woman.¹ All three of them emerged as independent personalities but they all admitted that they ultimately have to play the game according to the male rules.

A cursory look among the new women directors who have lately emerged on the scene yields a variety of opinions ranging from openly negative views, like Pepi Oikonomopoulou's categorical statement that directing is a male profession² and Ersi Vasilikioti's rather defeatist view that perhaps a woman is unsuitable for a director's position,³ to the evasive stance of Titina Halmatzi who 'would rather not deal with the so sensitive issue of women's theatre'⁴ or Aspa Tombouli's reluctance to direct women's work on a regular basis in fear of being labelled by the stiff-minded theatre world.⁵ The emphatic denial by playwright Maria Lambadaridou-Pothou that

1. Sky Channel, 27 Aug. 1994.

2. B. Angelikopoulos, 'Directing is a Male Profession' (translation mine), in *To Vima tis Kyriakis*, 13 May 1990, 61.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Thespis*, special issue on 'Creative Women in Theatre', Δ1, Autumn 1993, 12.

5. Telephone conversation on 12 January 1995.

the stage is a male-dominated field⁶ completes the spectrum I have tried to present, by filling in the opposite polar end from that occupied by Vasilikioti and Oikonomopoulou. To the above we must add the fierce war waged, several years ago, against director and actress Roula Pateraki, which resulted in the closing down of her school of dramatic art in Thessaloniki. Pateraki is now a prominent director in Athens, much respected for her outstanding work but also holding a rather precarious position in the theatre world for having established a strong and valued woman's voice of her own.⁷

Talking of playwrights, there are very few full-time women dramatists, like primarily Loula Anagnostaki and, to a lesser degree, Kostoula Mitropoulou. Most of the others are occasional visitors to the field of drama, who have turned to the theatre in order to try a new writing medium, after practising other writing forms — poetry and fiction.⁸ All this dramatic output is heavily conditioned, even assimilated by male writing methods and concerns. It is a case in point that much more exciting experimental and self-inscribing work has been done by women in poetry and fiction because these are more private and therefore freer, less controlled mediums of writing. Similarly, the contribution of female film directors to avant-garde Greek cinema in recent years has been outstanding because in this domain women can work outside the patriarchal constraints of the western culture industry.

This comparison is surely a heavy indictment of the state of contemporary Greek theatre but a quick glimpse at the sociohistorical developments in Greece in the last thirty years will explain why conditions in Greek theatre, especially for women working in it, look so bleak and alarmingly regressive. The late 1960s have been known

6. *Thespiis*, *op. cit.*, 7-8.

7. Apart from her commissioned directorial work for the commercial theatre Pateraki works on private projects which she directs and/or performs herself, such as her production of Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* (1985), her much acclaimed two versions of Beckett's *Happy Days* (1991) and her controversial sequel of *The Lamentations of Electra* for Megaron Mousikis (June 1992).

8. The prominent poet Maria Laina and fiction writer and poet Konstantina Vergou should be mentioned here. Kostoula Mitropoulou should also rank here as a prominent prose writer, though her theatre work is a much more central and steady preoccupation for her than for other women writers.

to the West as the period of the sexual revolution, political progressiveness and the women's lib movement, giving rise to an alternative culture and an important theatrical experimentation. Under the messages of this promising cultural revolution, a recuperating postwar Greece was just beginning to rekindle its own intellectual and cultural vitality of the 1920s and the 1930s, its progressive heritage which had also paved the way for the social upgrading of women but which unfortunately came to a violent end with the Metaxas coup of 1936. Just over thirty years later, the colonels' coup of 1967 had the same disastrous effect upon the continuity and advancement of modern Greek thought and culture and the development of the women's movement along with it. The new coup put once again a stop to all aspiring progressive spirits — the left intelligentsia in particular, who had set gender equality on their ideological and political agenda in the interwar period — sent many of them abroad and set the remainder of the spiritual and artistic forces of the country in the straitjacket of nationalism, discipline and conformity. The alternative was silence.

During the period of 1967-74 Greece lost contact with the European avant-garde and sociopolitical developments, which, most importantly, included the organised feminist movement. Thus the country was left out of all the sociocultural restructuring which provided women with strongly organised communities and a supportive system for work and creativity. After the fall of the dictatorship the women's liberation movement was already a historical fact. Its vague repercussions as well as memories of the earlier indigenous leftist tradition in the field touched progressive women in Greece but the general political climate distracted them from any specific feminist programming and sent them to organise themselves within political parties, where obviously party politics were promoted first and women were — and still are — a minority voice. No independent women's groups were formed. Further political developments in the '80s, though beneficial to women, had as a result to keep them at bay, half-content with seemingly sweeping changes to their own benefit.⁹ There seemed to be no cause for revolution, no

9. Those were the radical legislative changes that the two consecutive PASOK governments brought to the Greek civil law, which introduced the civil marriage and amended the position of women in the family, work and society. Such basic institutional changes in legislation made women's street militancy appear absurd and unnecessary.

visible motivation for activism and the formation of a concrete feminist ideology. Thus Greece skipped the phase of an organised feminist movement as experienced by the women of other (mostly western) countries and it passed to a post-feminist situation and thought without going through the first stage of consciousness-raising and militant resistance. As a result no foundations were ever laid in Greece for feminist groups or institutions to empower women and promote women's projects and free creativity outside party-controlled activities or state-run institutions like the Secretariat of equal opportunities.

The consequence for Greek theatre of a total absence of a social or cultural supportive system for women was that there is no such phenomenon as 'women's theatre' in the sense that the term is understood in Britain or elsewhere. The idea is unthinkable — almost preposterous — since there is no relevant consciously retrieved and revisioned women's culture to link it up to and no structured female audiences to address and get feedback from. The new patriarchal structure seems only to recognise and tolerate liberal/bourgeois feminism, mild and elitist, the women's sections of male-run political parties and the official state-funded research conducted by women scientists and scholars in universities and research centres. Women as an independent, self-organised force, especially in the arts, do not exist.¹⁰

One can therefore understand the isolation of women theatre practitioners. There is no conscious feminist ideology to motivate and inspire a new feminist discourse and aesthetics. The work produced is mostly stale and unfocused and it often gives the feeling that it is totally out of touch with contemporary women's problems. Women often appear numb or deluded — sometimes even by choice or snobbery — by the insidious, modernised and progressive façade of Greek social institutions. The international conference on 'Creative Women in Theatre', organised by the Greek Centre of the International Theatre Institute in Athens in March 1992, was itself a revealing document of the existing situation in Greece and abroad. Out of all

10. See also the article of Savas Patsalidis 'Greek Female (Feminist?) Theatre: A Preliminary Approach', *Utopia*, 4, Nov.-Dec. 1992) 105-38.

the female speakers (playwrights and directors) the British, German and American representatives were the most ideologically alert and outspoken. The French delegate was affable and compromising, the Roumanian was non-committal but the Greeks and Greek-Cypriots openly protested, especially in the discussion that followed the reading of papers, against any need for feminist activity or awareness and declared themselves happy with the present situation — the Greek side taking up the liberal attitude that I identified before and the Cypriot being engrossed in the Turkish invasion cause. The former attitude is completely unjustifiable. For the latter there are some extenuating features since there are several corresponding examples from other countries and cultures (as is the case, for instance, with Irish or black women dramatists), where a more general and immediate political issue takes priority, without, however, totally eschewing the feminist thought.¹¹ Paradoxically, the feminist paradigm was not part of the discourse of the Greek-Cypriot representatives in the conference.

Under such depressing conditions women dramatists and directors keep a very low profile, as I have illustrated earlier. Neither of these two groups of women in theatre make conscious efforts to cooperate with other women for the development of a distinct women's theatre. They rather prefer to do independent work within the existing patriarchal theatre system, that is to cooperate with men on various levels (actors, directors, managers). As a consequence, women have to succumb to male demands, even if they are not usually ready to admit it. Rare is the female sensitivity displayed, for instance, by translator Margarita Melberg when she comments on her specific experience as a woman translator of Strindberg's plays (notorious for their anti-feminist messages) and her heightened consciousness of the levels of semantic transformations in cases where gender difference plays such an important role in the deciphering and use of language.¹² On the contrary, the case of designer Klara Zaharaki-Georgiou, who praises the uniqueness of her collaboration in an all-female production

11. The works of Ann Devlin and Winsome Pinnock in the UK are notable examples of a poised interweaving of such parameters as gender, race and nationality.

12. Melberg's paper 'Theatre Translation and Directional View' is included in the special issue of *Thespis*, *op. cit.*, 11.

of Marsha Norman's *'Night Mother'* but at the same time underscores the experience by casually referring to her smooth and unproblematic professional work with men directors as a normal condition, is more typical of the way women theatre practitioners tend to naturalise the male rules to which they conform.¹³ In reality they let their work be controlled by the ideology and the gaze either of a male director and/or a male-oriented audience and to be regulated by the interests of male-run institutions (state theatres and independent theatre companies, artistic and commercial alike).

I shall offer as an example the influential role of Karolos Koun's Art Theatre, since its establishment over fifty years ago (1942), in creating a certain ideological and aesthetic tradition in acting and directing classical Greek drama but also modern and new plays. The school of Koun, with its specific aesthetic and sexual politics of extreme androcentric orientation, has shaped a whole generation of directors, actors and playwrights, men and women alike. The case of Loula Anagnostaki, one of the few major women dramatists of contemporary Greek theatre, is a prominent one because so problematic for a contemporary feminist reading of gender.¹⁴ Anagnostaki's writing is unredeemably androcentric, at best gender-neutral. But gender neutralisation has been the perennial method practised by male writers who tend to address the whole of humanity with the generic Man, thus tacitly prioritising the male sex. Similar practices by a contemporary woman writer, after all the tremendous volume of feminist literature, theory and criticism of the last twenty-five years, are hard to account for, especially when the writer in concern has such an alert political mind and appears so well-read in the modernist

13. 'That was a work exclusively done by women. Six women did theatre uniting their efforts. . . . That collaboration was a unique experience . . . I have worked as set and costume designer with almost all men Cypriot directors of the Theatrical Organisation of Cyprus and also several from the commercial theatre. My collaboration with them was without any problems. But what I felt during the production of *'Night Mother'* was very different.' I have translated the extract from Zaharaki's original paper, published in *Thespis*, op. cit., 13-14.

14. For an extensive analysis of Anagnostaki's dramatic work and the problematic inscription of gender see Elizabeth Sakellariidou, 'Levels of Victimization in the Plays of Loula Anagnostaki', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, special issue on modern Greek theatre (14 [1996] 103-122).

and postmodernist cultural and artistic production as Loula Anagnostaki most certainly does. The answer to this outrageous discrepancy lies, I think, in Anagnostaki's close connection with Koun's artistic circle and the fact that most of her plays (with the exception of just two) were premiered at Koun's Art Theatre.¹⁵ Thus Anagnostaki, despite her highly political and sharp analytical mind, remains a male-oriented socialist writer who refuses to inscribe and prioritise her gender in her writing. As her recent plays *I Kaseta* (1983), *O Ihos tou Oplou* (1986) and *Diamantia kai Blues* (1991) amply illustrate, her perspective never permits an aspiring female voice to raise itself as a speaking subject expressing a different desire, challenging the male value system and offering an alternative world view. Her women are victims and never visionaries. In the place of so much recent revisionist mythmaking undertaken by American and European female writers (theatre writers included)¹⁶ the Greek female scene remains blank because, as I shall point out later, Anagnostaki is not the only woman playwright who refuses to speak a female language and appropriates the language of men.

Apart from the Art Theatre's formative role in contemporary Greek theatre, State and regional theatres subsidised by the State often host new work by contemporary Greek dramatists, including that of women. State theatres have a more controversial relationship with women's work. Ill and narrow-minded management has often created disputes with deserving writers, like, for instance, the widely publicised dispute with the internationally acknowledged Kostoula Mitropoulou over the production of her collection of one-act plays *I Dalika* by the National Theatre (1985).¹⁷ During this crisis Mitropoulou categorically refused any intervention in the form of

15. The Art Theatre announced the production of a new play by Anagnostaki, *To Taxiði, Makria*, in autumn 1995.

16. See particularly Estella Lauter, *Women as Mythmakers: Poetry and Visual Art by Twentieth-Century Women* (Indianapolis 1984) and Elizabeth Sakellaridou, 'Feminist Heterologies: Contemporary Women Playwrights and the Rewrite of Myth and History' in *English Studies in Transition*, edited by Robert Clark and Piero Boitani (London 1993) 306-19.

17. A collage of newspaper clippings reporting this dispute forms the background decor of the front cover of the published edition of *I Dalika* (Athens 1985).

cuts in her work, intended to tailor it to the demands of the National Theatre. Another problem which reflects dubious criteria of evaluation of women's plays is their staging on the small theatre spaces of State Theatres as for example the Theatre Upstairs (Hyperoon) of the State Theatre of Northern Greece, which hosted Karina Ioannidou's *Skiste ti Gata* in 1991. Here there seems to be a plight in common with British women playwrights, who keep complaining, and rightly so, that they are kept out of institutionalised theatres, or that, when they are admitted there, they are never given the big stages, only the small ones. Of all institutionalised theatres in Greece regional theatres (i.e. the ones outside big metropolitan centres like Athens and Thessaloniki) seem to be more progressive and flexible and more willing to do a wide range of new and experimental work and create a friendlier space for women in theatre.

However, the hope of the contemporary Greek stage lies with a good number of moderately subsidised or almost exclusively self-financed, mixed in gender, independent theatre companies, which care for bold and 'quality' theatre and which have often hosted works by women. Special mention must be made of Nikiforos Papandreou's major experimental theatre company 'Piramatiki Skini tis Technis', founded in Thessaloniki in 1979, which has recently introduced the work of two contemporary French women dramatists to the Greek public with great success. These are Catherine Anne's *Tita-Lou*, directed by Nikiforos Papandreou (March 1993), and Yasmina Reza's *Conversations After a Burial*, directed by Andreas Voutsinas (January 1994). Two more contemporary plays by female writers, Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Our Country's Good*, directed by Glykeria Kalaitzi, and Charlotte Keatley's *My Mother Said I Never Should*, directed by Petros Zivanos, joined the repertory of the winter season of 1994-95. One more woman's play, Margarita Lyberaki's *I Gynaika tou Kandavli*, is under preparation to join next. In a private interview we had in January 1995, Nikiforos Papandreou, artistic director of Piramatiki Skini, expressed great satisfaction that the company has managed to include five women playwrights in its repertory in the last three years and he talked with admiration about not only the rising quantity but mainly the high quality (internationally) of recent female dramatic works that seem to supersede that of their male counterparts.

This is precisely the space and spirit that would encourage the development of women's theatre, starting collective work in the form of workshops and playing in small fringe theatre venues and addressing an eager and appreciative audience.

The mapping of the theatrical landscape, censorious rather than friendly in most cases, will illuminate several problematic aspects, thematic and aesthetic alike, of recent works produced by and about women which I have selected for closer analysis and discussion. As earlier stated, the two leading names that have been established as much in Greece as on stages abroad are Loula Anagnostaki and Kostoula Mitropoulou. A third, slightly earlier name which should be added to the list for its remarkable contribution to a new theatrical aesthetic in Greek theatre is that of the rather marginalised (because too avant-garde in style and thought) playwright and novelist Margarita Lyberaki. Her strangely erotic and highly poetic ritualistic drama (ironically so akin to western feminist drama) is an exceptional phenomenon alluding to different times and cultural spaces, which are just beginning to find response in the current trends of experimental Greek theatre. Especially the unfamiliar idiom of her 'mythical theatre' (*I Gynaika tou Kandavli*, 1954, *I Danaides*, 1963, and *To Mystiko Krevati*, 1967) has proved hard to accommodate to the Greek theatrical canon and her theatre has so far aroused more interest in France, her second home, than her original homeland. The recent decision of Piramatiki Skini to stage Lyberaki's earliest and so far unstaged in Greece play *I Gynaika tou Kandavli* and the touring production of *To Mystiko Krevati* by the Komotini regional theatre in summer 1995 may be an encouraging indication of a belated but deserving recognition of Lyberaki's genuine female theatrical voice, a pioneer both for highlighting issues of gender and sexuality and for installing a language of physicality and desire.¹⁸

By comparison, the much more politically progressive and outspoken Loula Anagnostaki, despite her problematic reticence or conservatism on gender issues (or perhaps because of them) has been stylistically

18. See also Patsalidis, *op. cit.*, 117-19, for a discussion of Lyberaki's innovative theatrical form and revisionist mythmaking in the midst of the stale realism of the modern Greek stage.

and ideologically better received in the canon. Anagnostaki, as already argued, appears as an 'immasculated' female writer, who has managed to develop a strong personal language, amalgamating earlier absurdist elements with the established social realist form without posing any significant threat to the male canon.

Kostoula Mitropoulou, on the other hand, presents intense psychological situations based on sexual desire and experience; she is very Freudian but also keenly theatrical, especially good at small dialogue and solo pieces as, for instance, in *I Dalika* or *Exi Roli yia Solistes* (1986). Her work is striking for its daring language and the representation of sexuality but, paradoxically, her characters are stereotyped and firmly anchored in patricarchal structures and sexual taboos. Thus, although her work gives vent to a polymorphous sexuality, at the same time her own discourse undermines categories of sexual difference which dissent from the male heterosexual canon. For example she marginalises the male homosexual by adopting the referent 'adelfi', she accepts the male dichotomisation of women into mother and whore by emphatically using the word 'poutana' and she leaves lesbianism invisible by omitting from her multi-erotic landscape female homoerotic relationships. So, the general framework in Mitropoulou's plays (as in the rest of her prose work) is the victimisation and subordination of women and effeminate men to the masculine canon and the acceptance of women's relational existence. Although remarkable for a woman writer in that she openly expounds on Freudian themes and speaks of desire, Mitropoulou is in reality a traditional patriarchal writer, who, in a different manner than Anagnostaki, holds back her gender and does not allow it to articulate its own imagery. What only comes through is a conditioned female sexuality as moulded and chastened by the patriarchal symbolic order. Her desire is the male-defined desire and her gaze the male-controlled gaze. Still one must pay tribute to her vivid and exciting theatricality, which, ironically, could provide an ideal space for the deconstruction of the female body as a male sexual object and its refashioning into a subject of discourse forestalling a different writing and a new gaze in the theatre.

However, any feminist criticism of these female dramatists should certainly not exceed the limits set by their belonging to an earlier

generation of women — a meaningful factor which by itself accounts for quite a few problems or limitations of their female discourse. I shall, therefore, now turn to two clearly feminist plays written by two younger women dramatists, Konstantina Vergou's *O Gamos tis Antigonis*, which was produced in Athens in 1982 by the independent theatre company Stoa of Thanasis Papageorgiou, and Karina Ioannidou's *Skiste ti Gata*, staged by the State Theatre of Northern Greece in Thessaloniki in 1991.¹⁹ Vergou used five women characters versus two male ones and this reversed ratio allows her a variety of characterisation in favour of her female characters. Indeed the two men are rather heavily drawn as social male stereotypes, whereas the portrayal of women is much more diversified. What we have is three generations of women — the old grandmother, the mother Eleni and her sister Anna and the two daughters of Eleni, Sophia and Antigoni. The women differ among themselves not only in age but also in idiosyncrasy, education and life experiences and so they form a polyphony of female voices, each articulating a different attitude and degree of defiance against or compliance with the patriarchal system. The story and the characters are a happy choice for a good feminist play, perhaps the first one for the contemporary Greek stage.

Where *O Gamos* falters is in Vergou's adoption of an old-fashioned naturalistic style for its theatrical form, which takes it back to the sentimental social realism of the 1950s, introduced to the Greek postwar theatre by Iakovos Kampnellis. Vergou's endeavour would be much more exciting and well-received if she had used the more flexible mixed style (half-Brechtian, half-Artaudian) that so many contemporary feminist playwrights use in Britain and elsewhere today. One feels a striking discrepancy between the bold feminist theme of the play and a stale, inflexible theatrical form that does not allow the full subversiveness of the theme to come up to the surface. There are also some problems with the handling of the story material itself. The two dissenting female voices of the play, the high-spirited, uncompromising grandmother and the unconventional, educated daughter Sophia, are not given enough space so as to rise above

19. Ioannidou's play received the first prize of the State Theatre Award in 1987.

passive resistance. The end of the play focuses on all the others' shameful compromise, willing complicity or return to conformity, which finds the grandmother a loser as she is sent off to an old people's home — an expected though unjust fate for old age as social reject. What is more, it totally marginalises the young Sophia's hopeful earlier decision to break away from the family and start a new uncompromising life by herself. In other words, the last impression of the play is a Chekhovian, albeit ironic, pessimism, a negative image of victimisation but also complicity of women rather than positive action.

Another problematic issue in the play is the ambivalent treatment of the father of the two girls and husband of Eleni, who occasionally appears as much more sensitive (he is the only one who remembers Sophia's birthday and brings her a present) and certainly more charming and attractive (he is witty and humorous) than either his wife Eleni or his other daughter Antigoni. What is more, he too is presented as the victim of an unbending patriarchal authority (that of his own father), which has ruined his future and is to be held responsible for his gendering into a ruthless oppressor of women. For an advanced postfeminist reading, which has embraced gender analysis in its deconstruction of patriarchy, this is no fault of the play. On the contrary it suggests broad and mature thought on the part of the writer. A sociological inquiry into gender, i.e. a cross-gender analysis within class and patriarchy, is often the practice of contemporary feminist writers but the form they use allows them to give each perspective its proper place in the overall stage narrative.²⁰ In the case of Vergou the naturalistic presentation permits the audience to develop a sympathy for the father which runs against the feminist politics of the play.

Despite all these reservations Vergou's play was an important contribution to women's writing for the theatre. Thanasis Papageorgiou, who directed it, heralded it as a hopeful opening for the female voice on the Greek stage and he went on to say that it also helped *him*

20. The contemporary British playwright Sarah Daniels is a characteristic example of this sort of analysis, despite her often radical feminist views.

realise his own problems as a man.²¹ Surely the reconsideration of men's gender roles in today's society is one of the targets of the feminist inquiry.

The second feminist play of my examination is Karina Ioannidou's *Skiste ti Gata*. This play was presented on stage nine years later than that of Vergou's (in 1991), when postmodern culture had already had over thirty years of existence and feminist performance art had gladly appropriated most of its new art forms — fragmentation, pastiche, physical language, multi-media collage etc. The audience, therefore, had analogous expectations of a different stage aesthetic. What they got instead was a disappointment. The story of the play, the plight of a widowed mother who had to dress up as a man to find work in a factory, was too alienated in space and time from a modern audience's social experience so that it failed to touch it in a positive way. It was a naïve and clumsy imitation of a Brechtian parable, very unconvincing in its attempt to find a working parallel in the Greek sociohistorical specificity. Also the form was an outdated, wooden imitation of ill-matched Brechtian 'gests' in movement, music and songs, without any sign of awareness on the part of the writer (or the director) of the modernised versions of the Brechtian techniques currently in use in hundreds of European or American theatre productions.²² Ioannidou's play might be right for an audience of the 1930s or the 1940s but it is totally unsatisfying for an audience of the 1990s, feminist or not. But what should also be stressed is the difficult relationship between playwright and director during this production. The actual case was that of a young, progressive but inexperienced female writer and a traditional, though new, male director, Mihalis Papamihalis, working together for the staging of a problematic feminist text.²³ The result was a comparative failure, which might have been prevented to a great extent, in the case of a

21. Vergou, *O Gamos tis Antigonis* (Athens 1993).

22. Elin Diamond's excellent essay 'Brechtian Theory/Feminist Theory: Towards a Gestic Feminist Criticism', *Drama Review* 32.2 (1988) 82-94 is very informative in this respect.

23. In his director's note Papamihalis quite honestly discloses the exact theatrical situation: 'New play! New writer, new director, designer, composer. The theatre, "aged" — some call it conservative — it still trusted us' (Programme of *Skiste ti Gata*, State Theatre of Northern Greece, 1991).

more sympathetic female director, experienced in modern techniques.

This may sound like an unfounded speculation but there are many examples of women's theatrical texts working much better in an all-female theatrical context than others developing from collaboration with men. In the latter case, as the gender and, consequently, the gaze of the writer do not coincide with those of the director, it is only a matter of who holds the power position (and in a production it certainly is the director) that will decide the gaze of the play's reception.²⁴

A strong case in point, which I hope will illustrate the full potential of a total female theatrical discourse, was a very successful, recent, all-woman production of *Letters Home*, a play written by the contemporary American playwright Rose Goldemberg and based on the letters exchanged between the well-known American poet Sylvia Plath and her mother.²⁵ The translation of the text into Greek was the collaborative work of two women scholars (Aspa Tombouli and Maro Germanou), the direction was by Aspa Tombouli, a new woman director and scholar trained in London, and the two actresses who played the two female parts (Alexandra Diamantopoulou and Yianna Nikolopoulou) were well-trained and experienced and they both had a lot of faith in the director and the text at hand. This was a truly happy collaboration of female minds and bodies, combining many issues of excellence and the result was a meticulous and well-poised production, a superb example of what women's theatre can and should be. For the Greek stage, which is not used to this kind of top-quality work by women, it is a sample of work to be remembered for years.²⁶

The only dark side attached to this production was the negative reaction of some male critics, who hastened to savagely slash the female concerns and sensitivities of the play as dull trivialities,

24. The views of earlier mentioned designer Zaharaki and translator Melberg bear strong testimony to this.

25. The production was staged at the theatre Empros in Athens in May 1994 by the new theatre company Opseis and was directed by Aspa Tombouli. After its first success it had a second run in the same theatre space in the following winter season of 1994-95.

26. In comparison, I can only recall Roula Pateraki's exquisite production, with her all-female team, of Reiner Fassbinder's *The Bitter Tears of Petra Von Kant* in 1987-88.

unworthy of any serious attention and therefore unfit for the stage, or exhibited an unpardonable patronising attitude towards Aspa Tombouli, this new woman director who dared highlight such boring feminine stuff!²⁷ The control of the Greek audience's reception by the domineering patriarchal gaze of male critics is still a major disconcerting factor for the development of women's theatre in Greece.

Another aspect worthy of some comment in this production was the solid theatrical structure of the play itself, which was partly responsible for the effective outcome of the whole enterprise. It is not accidental that *Letters Home*, as four out of the five mentioned female texts that were selected for production by Piramatiki Skini, was an import in translation from a country where women's/feminist theatre has been a long-standing practice and has produced a series of top-quality theatrical scripts. Given the sterility of the indigenous Greek theatre in the production of good women's plays (any good new plays, as a matter of fact),²⁸ translated work has often filled in the gap, so that the occasional strong female voices heard on the Greek stage — unfortunately in certain respects, I would say — come from foreign women playwrights, women that have made a name in other cultures, usually American, French or British²⁹ and work by proxy for the (female) Greek audiences, who are still deprived of an established theatrical cultural voice of their own.

The unexpected appearance on the Athenian stage in early January 1995 of a new Greek all-woman play *Me Dynami apo tin Kifisia*, the second collaboration between playwrights Dimitris Kehaidis and Eleni Haviara, seems to be breaking the tradition of female reticence in the theatre.³⁰ The play presents with real sensitivity and humour

27. Especially interesting for a gender analysis of the male critical reception were the reviews of Kostas Georgousopoulos in *Ta Nea* (6 June 1994, 38) and Yiannis Varveris in *Kathimerini* (26 June 1994, Magazine Section: 22).

28. It is a sad truth that the 1994 first prize of the State New Play Award was withdrawn on the grounds of the poor quality of the plays that entered the competition. See the relevant report 'Bad News for Theatrical Work' (translation mine) in *Thessaloniki*, Wed. 21 Dec. 1994, 37.

29. The long list would include names such as Marsha Norman, Rose Goldenberg, Marguerite Duras, Catherine Anne, Yasmina Reza, Caryl Churchill, Louise Page, Nell Dunn, Timberlake Wertenbaker, Charlotte Keatley etc.

30. The play was staged at the Nea Skini theatre in Athens in January 1995 and was directed by Lefteris Voyiatzis.

the lives of four different women, who try to empower one another in their problematic relationships with men. It is to the credit of the play that, although the women's lives and personalities are still heavily dependent on men and male ideologies and social practices, its mood avoids sentimentality and victimisation and, comically as much as sympathetically, delineates the women's plight as they are passing from awareness of oppression to strategies of resistance. The only issue at stake here is that the text is a collaboration between an experienced male writer (Dimitris Kehaidis), who has repeatedly proved his merit as an individual dramatist in his own right, and a woman playwright (Eleni Haviara), whose talent in playwrighting has only been tested twice in collaborative work alone.³¹ One cannot help speculating — even benevolently — what portion of the writing has been hers and what her own individual dramatic creation would be like without the male 'crutches' of Kehaidis, which seem to support her as much as the absent men support and define the female characters in her present dramatic collaboration. However, this new hopeful opening of the Greek theatre and stage must by no means be underrated.

Another rather hopeful activity of the contemporary Greek stage is the newly emerging solo performance art, which is especially practised by female performers. I particularly have in mind the recent work of actress Anna Kokkinou, who devised a one-woman show based on the work of Greek poet and prose writer Georgios Vizyinos (*Morfes apo to ergo tou Georgiou Vizyinou*, 1994). The striking aspect of this production was that the rich verbal and highly literary language of Vizyinos was matched by an equal amount of physical language transmitted by Kokkinou's performing female body. That was a new interesting direction for the construction of a complete female body narrative on stage. Other similar occasional solo performances, like that of Olia Lazaridou in Ilias Lagios's *The Story of Lady Othellos* (directed by Maria Nikolakopoulou, 1992) and Katia Dandoulaki's

31. Eleni Haviara's other official collaboration was with the same male dramatist, Dimitris Kehaidis (who also happens to be her husband) on *Dafnes kai Pikrodafnes* in 1979. However, in an interview published in the programme-text of *Me Dynamis*, Haviara makes covert hints at her unacknowledged collaboration in Kehaidis's other dramatic works.

in Ann Reynolds's and Moira Buffini's *Jordan* (directed by Mayia Lyberopoulou, 1994), give hope for a rising female dynamic in a specific theatrical field, that of performance art, which has been internationally proved as most appropriate for the full development of a new plastic female language.³²

One last point I want to make is related to recent plays about women and female issues that have been written by men. This is not such an unusual practice in any theatre at any time and in any culture, but for the contemporary Greek situation it is a big oxymoron phenomenon that, with women dramatists appropriating male forms of writing and silencing the female discourse, the strongest feminist work done and enthusiastically received is that by privileged male writers. With this remark I do not intend to enter the still unresolved debate about men and feminism. What I want to argue instead is that when in a given contemporary social setting men undertake to speak *on behalf of* women about women's oppression and, deeper still, about female experience and desire, in women's own (deliberate?) absentia, then there is obviously something seriously wrong with the specific culture and society that will still have their women speak through male surrogates.

Of the number of recent plays by male dramatists that centre around female issues I shall make special reference to Vasilis Ziogas's *Chromatistes Gynaikes* (1983).³³ Ziogas has repeatedly written about the female situation. Even his early *To Proxenio tis Antigonis* (1958) can be read as a sardonic allegory, a very dark one, of the invisibility and the silence of the young woman, whose destiny is written elsewhere, outside her own mind and body. *Oi Gami* (1987), another fairly recent play of his, is also, in a very absurdist manner,

32. For the politics and aesthetics of women's performance art see Sue-Ellen Case, ed., *Performing Feminisms* (Baltimore 1990) and Lizbeth Goodman's *Contemporary Feminist Theatres: To Each Her Own* (London 1993).

33. Ilias Lagios's *The Story of Lady Othellos* also deserves special mention both for its thematic subtlety and the high poetic quality of the text as well as the beauty and sensitivity of Olia Lazaridou's solo performance in it. Dimitris Kehaidis's latest play *Me Dynami apo tin Kifisia* (a collaboration with Eleni Haviara) must also be stressed as a remarkable achievement since it is his first play where women not only become centralised but, primarily, feature as the solo subjects of the theatrical discourse.

centred around the female experience. But the work that focuses on strong female issues per se is his *Chromatistes Gynaikes*. Although the play seems to be based on the stereotyped female split, the virgin and the whore, it soon takes it up to subvert this division and it shows both women as symbolically 'coloured', unearthing hidden fears, yearnings and desires and ending up with a ritualised exorcism of all male-constructed myths and taboos and installing instead a female vision and a female mythology. The play is exciting not only for its thematics but for its successful use of combined styles and techniques, bringing together reality and myth, poetry and cynicism, strong imagery and ritual and the amazing use of dolls, a dummy technique often used by women practitioners of the theatre in order to deconstruct through a double play of mimesis (a method approved by feminist theorist Luce Irigaray) the dominion of male representation and to articulate their own imaginary and experience. This is an advanced theatrical technique reminiscent of the body of consciously feminist work done by women abroad, such as in Hélène Cixous's *The Portrait of Dora*, Caryl Churchill's *Cloud Nine* or Timberlake Wertenbaker's *The Love of the Nightingale*. It would be against any basic scholarly ethos to suggest even the tiniest speck of resentment that this kind of excellence comes from a male writer, yet it is certainly upsetting when this same writer dangerously exceeds the boundaries of the male experience to the point of questioning provocatively at a recent conference on the issue of 'Women and Literature' the necessity for women to write when men write so beautifully about them.³⁴ Even if this was intended as a playful remark, does it not hide the traditional solipsistic attitude of male supremacy, a warning threat to aspiring women writers, an impetus to demoralise women, a desire to still keep them in a state of immateriality, ironically reminiscent of that unforgettable image of the veiled carcass of a woman in Ziogas's own *To Proxenio tis Antigonis*?

My conclusion will be sceptical though not pessimistic. At this point in time there is an urgent need to set up a whole supportive framework

34. I am paraphrasing here Ziogas's publicly expressed view in the general discussion with the audience that ensued at the end of the conference 'Women and Literature', organised by the Municipality of Komotini in November 1991.

— a hard and almost utopian task because already anachronistic in the postmodern rhythms that are prematurely sweeping us off our still culturally uncertain feet — in order to create a situation of empowerment for an emerging women's theatre in Greece. A lot of positive action has to be undertaken in all domains: to construct exclusive and dynamic women's theatre groups, to create inspired and influential female critics and train the (not only female) audiences to new, non-androcentric ways of reception.³⁵ Only under such conditions can the women's theatre in Greece be expected to take on a material role on the contemporary Greek stage. Perhaps the ironic title *Me Dynami apo tin Kifisia* of Kehaidis's and Haviara's new play should also be seen in a prophetic light, as a dynamic and hopeful motto for a long missing empowering female discourse in our Greek theatrical landscape.³⁶

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35. In a brief assesment of the activities of the Greek stage in the theatrical season of 1994-95, published in *To Vima tis Kyriakis* (8 Jan. 1995, Γ5), theatre critic Eleni Varopoulou appears quite optimistic about the emergence of a new 'resisting' audience, small in number but dynamic, which 'supports kinds of texts and theatrical forms, theatre spaces and experiences that deviate from the conventional methods of the media'.

36. Eleni Haviara, in particular, appears especially alert to the key position that the word *power* ('dynami' in Greek) has attained in our recent cultural and political life. The word 'dynami' plays a series of semantic variations through its frequent use in the different contextual instances of the title and the dramatic text alike. See 'Conversations', extracts from an interview between the director and the co-authors of the play, *op. cit.*, 28.

Varus of Egypt: a Fictitious Military Martyr

DAVID WOODS

The attitude of the early church to war and military service is a subject which has long exercised the attention of many scholars, and doubtlessly this will continue to be the case.¹ There are those who hold a pacifist viewpoint and argue that originally the early Christians completely rejected military service, and there are others who are opposed to this viewpoint.² However, all agree on one issue, that there is far less early material on this subject than one would initially prefer. Thus, both sides have felt the need to utilise sources and materials which would otherwise lie neglected, the hagiographical accounts of the early military martyrs in particular. Debate has now centred upon a relatively small number of texts, those which have traditionally been accepted as the genuine acts of authentic military martyrs, to which ever increasing attention has been paid.³ Unfortunately, concentration

1. See P. Brock, *The Military Question in the Early Church: A Selected Bibliography of a Century's Scholarship 1888-1987* (Toronto 1988).

2. The pacifist viewpoint has been presented by, for example, C.J. Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War: A Contribution to the History of Christian Ethics* (London 1919); also J.-M. Hornus, *It is not Lawful for Me to Fight: Early Christian Attitudes towards War, Violence and the State* (Scottsdale 1980: a revised transl. of the original French edition of 1960). An alternative viewpoint has been presented by, for example, A. von Harnack, *Militia Christi: The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries* (Philadelphia 1981: a transl. by D. McL. Gracie of the original German edition of 1905); also J. Helgeland, R.J. Daly, and J.P. Burns, *Christians and the Military: The Early Experience* (Philadelphia 1985). The later texts treat the subject of the military martyrs at greater length.

3. The military martyrs most commonly regarded as authentic historical figures are Marinus of Caesarea, Maximilian of Tebessa, Marcellus, Julius the Veteran, Dasius, and the 40 Martyrs of Sebasteia. Their acts, or rather their *Testamentum* in the case of the 40 Martyrs, can be found in H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford 1972). Individually these have often been the subject of monographs or collections of studies, which include P. Siniscalco, *Massimiliano: un obiettore di coscienza del tardo impero* (Turin 1974), R. Pillinger, *Das Martyrium des heiligen Dasius: Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Wien 1988), and M. Mullett and A.M. Wilson (edd.), *The Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia* (Belfast, forthcoming).

upon these texts in particular seems to have led to a neglect of texts which are of great interest in their own right.⁴ This was inevitable given that the accounts of the military martyrs have normally been examined only as to their suitability for use as weapons in the ongoing polemic concerning the 'true' attitude of the early church to war. Seldom has the development of the cult of military martyrs been regarded as a historical phenomenon worthy of study in itself.⁵ Thus, it is the purpose of this note to begin to rectify this situation by drawing attention to the neglected acts of a military martyr, Varus, who allegedly suffered death in Egypt during the reign of Galerius Maximianus (305-311).

According to the acts, an order was sent throughout all Egypt that Christians should offer sacrifice or suffer torture and death. In accordance with this command, seven hermits were arrested in the desert, but on their way to prison one of them died. They were visited in prison by a soldier, Varus, who loosed their chains and brought them food. He was present still when they were brought to trial, and when the governor asked for the missing prisoner he jumped forward and declared that he would take his place. Naturally, the governor inquired as to his name and origin, and he was informed by his staff that Varus was a soldier, a member of the cohort of Tyana. Not unexpectedly, Varus' defiance angered the governor. Accordingly, he was tortured to death, and his body was thrown to the dogs. The hermits were executed also.

There had been present at the trial a Palestinian woman by the name of Cleopatra, and she secretly recovered Varus' corpse. She obtained

4. Seldom do commentators attempt to reveal to their readers just how large an amount of material has been excluded from the debate. A useful list of just some of the military martyrs whose acts are routinely disregarded in this manner can be found in E. Pucciarelli (ed.), *I cristiani e il servizio militare: testimonianze dei primi tre secoli* (Florence 1987) 316-7. J. Helgeland, 'Christians and the Roman Army from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine', *ANRW* II. 23. 1 (1979) 724-834, esp. 820-30, provides a short discussion of a number of military martyrs which does not, however, fulfill his introductory promise 'to include within the covers of this study all the martyr acts rather than only those which appeared to be authentic.'

5. A notable exception being A.F.C. Webster, 'Varieties of Christian Military Saints: From Martyrs under Caesar to Warrior Princes', *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24 (1980) 3-36.

permission to remove it to Palestine by pretending that it was that of her husband, and took it to her native village near Mt. Tabor. There the fame of the martyr spread, and many miracles were worked. Eventually, when Cleopatra's son was about to go to the imperial court and join the army, she built a magnificent shrine in honour of Varus in order to obtain his patronage for her son. However, her son became ill and died the very night of the removal of Varus' relics to the new shrine. Cleopatra wept bitterly, and reproached Varus for the manner in which he had repaid her devotion to his cult. But Varus appeared to her in a dream, together with her son, and explained that he had granted her exactly what she wished. He had obtained for her son an important military position, but in the army of the Lord rather than in an earthly force. Cleopatra was relieved to hear this, and asked to join her son. However, she was informed that her time had not yet come, and she continued to live for another seven years.

This, in brief, is the account of the martyrdom of Varus which has been preserved in two Greek texts, an older Greek passion (*BHG* 1862), and a reworking of the same by the 10th century Byzantine hagiographer Symeon Metaphrastes (*BHG* 1863).⁶ It is my intention here to discuss various readings in the older text, and to suggest amendments where possible, in order to clarify a number of issues. This may enable us in turn to appreciate a little better the origin and historical worth both of text and cult. Thus, unless otherwise stated, all quotations are from the premetaphrastic text.

I. Varus' Military Service

Let us consider first the responses which the governor received when he asked Varus' name and the title of the military unit in which he served:

(*BHG* 1862. 5)

Καὶ θυμωθεὶς ὁ ἡγεμὼν λέγει 'Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος;' Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ 'Στρατιώτης, καὶ τῶν πρῶτων εἷς.' 'Ὁ δὲ λέγει 'Ἐν ποίῳ ἀριθμῷ ἀναφέρεται;' Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ 'Ἐν Τυάνων τῇ πόλει.'

6. The text of *BHG* 1862, together with a commentary, can be found in *AASS. Oct. VIII* (1853) 428-35, while *BHG* 1863 is to be found in *PG* 115, cols. 1141-60. An abbreviated English translation of *BHG* 1862 is to be found in S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints* XII (Edinburgh 1914) 480-3.

Angered, the governor asked, 'Who is this man?' They said to him, 'A soldier, one of the foremost.' He asked, 'In what unit does he serve?' They replied, 'That in the city of Tyana.'

The governor was not told the full official title of the unit, simply that it was the unit in the city of Tyana. But what exactly did his officials mean by this? That Varus' unit was that which had been raised in Tyana, and from which settlement it took its name, therefore, a *cohors Tyanorum*? Or did they mean rather that Varus was from that unit currently stationed in the city of Tyana? The next problem then becomes the identification of the city of Tyana. Are we to identify Tyana as the famous Roman colony of this name in Cappadocia? Or are we to identify it rather as the Egyptian settlement of this name known only from a 6th-century work, the *Ethnika* by Stephanos of Byzantium?⁷ Even more problematic, we must also ask whether we can trust this reading of the text?

Let us turn first to the reworking of the early text by Symeon Metaphrastes to inquire whether his source may have differed in this matter:

(BHG 1863. 4)

Ἦκουσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν καὶ ὄλος τοῦ θυμοῦ γέγονε καὶ 'Τίς οὗτος, καὶ τίνας τάγματος ἢ τάξις λεγέτω', φησί. 'Ὁ δὲ τάγματος μὲν τοῦ ἐκ Τυάνων, στρατιώτης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν', ἀπεκρίνατο.⁸

The governor heard, and was filled with anger. 'Let my staff state who this man is, and of what unit,' he said. 'He is a member of the unit from Tyana, a soldier of distinction,' replied (the staff).

Metaphrastes maintains the reference to Tyana, but seems to understand that the unit was from Tyana, i.e. that it had come from that city. It is still not as clear as one would prefer whether he means by this simply that Tyana just happened to be the city where the unit was last stationed, or that the unit had actually been recruited for

7. The interpretation favoured in *AASS. Oct. VIII*, 432. See the edition by A. Meineke (Berlin 1849; repr. Chicago 1992) 640: ἔστι καὶ Τύανα πόλις Αἰγύπτου, ἢ μᾶλλον ἀναλογεῖ τὸ Τυανίτης διὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων χώραν.

8. The text is that at *PG* 115, but, of necessity, I have changed the punctuation.

the first time there, and was, therefore, a *cohors Tyanorum* properly speaking. Whatever the case, the implication of separation is clear. Presumably he faced the same problem as presently faces us in our attempt to understand the early legend. What would a soldier from a unit stationed at Tyana in Cappadocia have been doing in Egypt whilst apparently on active duty still? Thus, Metaphrastes could not accept that Varus' unit was actually stationed in Tyana still at the time of Varus' death. However, if he had identified Tyana as an Egyptian settlement, then the situation would have been quite different. Whereas it might have seemed unusual that a soldier stationed in Cappadocia should suddenly turn up in Egypt, the same would not have been true in the case of a soldier stationed one place in Egypt making an appearance elsewhere at another Egyptian town. Thus, Metaphrastes seems to have identified Tyana as the Cappadocian town of that name, and was influenced to amend the text before him accordingly. Whereas it seems originally to have read ἐν Τυάνων τῇ πόλει, or something similar, he seems to have introduced the notion of separation by changing the all-important preposition from ἐν to ἐκ. Therefore, taking into consideration both Metaphrastes' treatment of the text, and the unreliability of much of the information collected by Stephanos of Byzantium, it seems best to dismiss the existence of an Egyptian Tyana.⁹ However, still further discussion is necessary.

Firstly, the formula used to describe the unit in the early text is noteworthy in itself. It seems to have been acceptable policy during the 5th and 6th centuries to allude to units by the cities in which they were stationed rather than by their full and proper titles, even in official documents.¹⁰ For example, *P. Lond.* 992, dated 507, identifies certain individuals as στρατιῶται ἀριθμοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως rather than as members of the Mauri which unit we know to have been garrisoned there at that date. Even more vaguely, *P. Edfou* IX

9. On the untrustworthy nature of much of the information in the *Ethnika* of Stephanos, see E. Honigsmann, *RE* 3A (1929), cols. 2369-99, *passim*.

10. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford 1964; rep. 1990) 654-5.

describes the position of Γεωργίου στρατιώτου ἀπὸ Ἑρμού πόλεως.¹¹ I am not presently aware of any other Greek or Latin hagiographical text which describes the unit to which a military martyr belongs solely by reference to the city in which it is stationed. In the absence of genuine military titles, attempts are often made to distinguish units by the names of their commanding officers. Alternatively, clumsy efforts may be made to distinguish the unit by the type of soldier involved. However, although the names of the cities in which they are stationed may also emerge, this is incidental information only. It seems, therefore, that the editor of the early text as it presently stands may have been influenced by the custom of his era when describing military units, and that when confronted with a possibly corrupt reading of the title of an obscure military unit, he may have sought the name of a town where none in fact existed. Certainly, there was no hagiographical convention in this matter to which he was trying to adhere.

Secondly, the translation from their original Latin into Greek of military titles denoting place or people of origin was a process fraught with difficulties. One commentator has argued, for example, that on at least one occasion the early 6th-century Byzantine historian Zosimus completely misunderstood his Greek source because of its ambiguous translation of a military title.¹² Zosimus was led to believe that c.409 five military units were specifically summoned from Dalmatia in order to protect Rome against Alaric rather than that five *cunei equitum Dalmatarum* which were already near at hand were used to defend the city.¹³ The use of a construction such as ἀπὸ + a geographical proper name as an attribute was certainly open to misinterpretation, and if a man of Zosimus' education and administrative experience could so misinterpret a source, then the same must also be true of

11. R. Rémondon, 'Soldats des Byzance d'après un papyrus trouvé à Edfou', *Recherches de Papyrologie* 1 (1961) 41-93, p.48.

12. L. Várady, 'Additional notes on the problem of the late Roman *cunei*', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 11 (1963) 391-406.

13. Zos. *HN* 5.45. However, modern commentators do not necessarily agree on this point. For example, R.T. Ridley, *Zosimus' New History: A Translation with Commentary* (Canberra 1982) 122, translates the relevant passage as 'the emperor decided that five legions from Dalmatia should leave their own base there and come to guard the city.'

many anonymous hagiographers or redactors of earlier hagiographical texts. Might the editor or author of the present text have misinterpreted the grammatical construction of his source, and have so reworded the text that the nature of the original ambiguity is no longer evident?

Due attention ought to be drawn at this point to the fact that ἔν Τυάνων is an amended reading of a manuscript source which may in fact read ἔν Τυάνοιο, or even ἔν Τυάνοις.¹⁴ Furthermore, a brief review now of the treatment, or mistreatment rather, which the titles of military units have received at the hands of successive hagiographers does not inspire confidence that any title could easily have escaped corruption, or that such corruption would have been quickly noticed and appropriately amended. It is not entirely unexpected when the translator of a text from one language to another distorts the titles of a military unit. Thus, for example, the earliest Latin account of St. Christopher ascribes him to a *numerus armarianorum*, although the surviving Greek texts show that the unit in question was in fact the νομέρος Μαρμαριτῶν.¹⁵ However, the readings of Greek texts can also become corrupted. The Greek passion of the recruit St. Theagenes recorded that he was conscripted εἰς λεγεῶνα καλουμένην σεκουνδοστράτηγον, although fortunately its modern editor has been able to correct this to read εἰς λεγεῶνα καλουμένην σεκουνδαν Τραιανήν on the basis of the extant Latin texts.¹⁶ Even more problematic is St. Ignatius of

14. The following remark appears in the margin at AASS. Oct. VIII, 429: 'Cod. Τυάνοιο forte Τυάνοις.'

15. BHL 1764: 'Probavit autem illum in numero armarianorum, qui adsistebant ad manum regis'; BHG 310: 'Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις δὲ ἐκεῖναις ἦν τις τῶν λεγομένων κομητῶν συλλαβόμενος τὸν μακάριον ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ στρατεύσας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ νομέρῳ τῶν Μαρμαριτῶν.' See D. Woods, 'St. Christopher, Bishop Peter of Attalia, and the Cohors Marmaritarum: A Fresh Examination', *Vigiliae Christianae* 48 (1994) 170-86, for a more detailed discussion of the relevant issues.

16. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, 'Note Agiografiche 4: La Passio S. Theagenis', *Studi e Testi* 24 (1912) 161-85, esp. 164. The edited text, BHG 2416, reads: Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν Λικινίου τοῦ βασιλέως κρατηθεὶς εἰς τήρωνα ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ὁ Θεογένης ὢν ἐπισκόπου υἱός, ἤχθη εἰς λεγεῶνα καλουμένην σεκουνδαν Τραιανὴν ὑπὸ τριβούνου Ζηλικίνθιον καὶ πραιπόσιτον Ποσιδώνιον, ἥτις λεγῶν ἐκαθέζετο ἐν Πάρῳ τῇ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἥ ἐστὶν Κυζίκου πρώτῃ; whereas BHL 8107 reads: 'Tempore enim Licinii paganissimi tyranni comprehensus est in Phrygia, cum esset episcopi filius, et perductus est ad legionem quae dicitur Secunda Traiana, ad tribunum Zilicentium, et praepositum Possidonium, quae legio considebat in Zyzico, quae est prima Hellepontii.'

Antioch's account of his final journey and death which describes his condition δεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὃ ἐστὶ στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα. It has recently been argued that the term which St. Ignatius originally used was *Lepidiani*, in reference to the *cohors I Lepidiana*, and that he did not refer to leopards at all.¹⁷

It should be clear at this point that the titles of military units are relatively easily corrupted. It is not inappropriate, therefore, to consider whether any other military title may have been corrupted or otherwise misinterpreted to produce the current text. It is true that there is some risk in this approach that one may indulge the imagination a little too much and 'restore' readings that never existed. One thinks in particular of the manner in which the acts of the centurion Marcellus were amended so that he became a member of the *legio II Traiana*.¹⁸ However, in the case of texts which are highly regarded as the authentic acts of genuine military martyrs, due regard to the facts of history minimises such risk. In the case of Marcellus, for example, the *legio II Traiana* was never stationed in the region where he met his death.¹⁹ Therefore, this correction ought never to have been entertained. Even in the case of fictitious acts, or epic passions as they have been called, the author is likely to be influenced in his choice of military unit by the historical reality of his own location and time. It was not simply a coincidence, for example, that Theodore, bishop of Octodurum, a town within the territory of the *comes Italiae*, should attribute St. Maurice and his companions to a *legio militum*, *qui Thebaei appellabantur*, i.e. to a legion under the command of the *comes Italiae*.²⁰ Alternatively, the author of fictitious acts may

17. D.B. Saddington, 'St. Ignatius, Leopards, and the Roman Army', *JThS* ns 38 (1987) 411-2.

18. B. de Gaiffier, 'S. Marcel de Tanger ou de Léon? Evolution d'une légende', *AB* 61 (1943) 116-39, esp. 125-7.

19. Accepting the text of G. Lanata, 'Gli atti del processo contro il centurione Marcello', *B* 42 (1972), 509-22, one notes that Marcellus met his death at Tingis in the province of Mauretania Tingitana. However, after a brief spell in Palestine, the *legio II Traiana* was stationed in Egypt since the beginning of the 2nd century, and was still there at the end of the 4th century according to the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Although it is probable that *vexillationes* may have been detached for various eastern wars, there is no evidence to suggest that any detachments were ever sent to Mauretania Tingitana.

20. D. Woods, 'The Origin of the Legend of Maurice and the Theban Legion', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994) 385-95.

borrow the title from the existing acts of another military martyr.²¹ Generally speaking, there should be some indication how or why a particular military unit has made its appearance in the text concerned. It is not enough, therefore, to produce a restored reading of the title of a military unit simply on the basis of the jumbled text which initially confronts one. One must also be able to justify the restored reading either in terms of the historical experience of the cult centre or author of the text, or in terms of the hagiographical process. So let us now apply these standards to the problem currently in hand.

It must be stated first of all that no record has been preserved of any *cohors Tyanorum* whether stationed in Egypt or elsewhere. Certainly, Zosimus does record the presence of troops from Tyana with the emperor Aurelian during his battle against the forces of the Palmyrene queen Zenobia before the city of Emesa in 272.²² One must note, though, that during the earlier part of his campaign against Zenobia, Aurelian had met resistance at Tyana and had been forced to besiege the city before it was betrayed to him.²³ One may assume, therefore, that he left a strong garrison in the city as he advanced eastwards. However, by the time of the engagement at Emesa, Aurelian's victory was assured and the possibility of revolt in his rear was remote indeed. Thus, he may have felt it safe to reduce the forces garrisoned at his rear, including those at Tyana, and it is the presence of these reinforcements from the rear which Zosimus here records rather than any *cohors Tyanorum* as such. The guarantee of this interpretation of Zosimus' text is provided by the complete absence

21. E.g. the author of *BHG* 1761, the passion of St. Theodore the Recruit, borrowed the title of the military unit to which he attributed St. Theodore, the λεγεὼν Μαρμαριτῶν, from the account of the martyrdom of St. Christopher, *BHG* 310.

22. Zos. *HN* 1.52.4: συνετέτακτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Μαυρουσία ἵππος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας αἱ τε ἀπὸ Τυάνων δυνάμεις καὶ ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης τέλη τινὰ ἀνδρειοτάτων. R.T. Ridley, *op. cit.*, refers to 'the Mauretanian horse, and Asian forces from Tyana, Mesopotamia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, some of the bravest legions'. L. Várady, *art. cit.*, 405, admits that this passage 'could refer to such Roman troops whose names were derived from the mentioned geographical terms, although the probable coincidence of name and station . . . is undeniable'.

23. R. Stoneman, *Palmyra and its Empire: Zenobia's Revolt against Rome* (Ann Arbor 1992) 165-79, for an account of Aurelian's campaign against Zenobia.

of reference to a *cohors Tyanorum* or any other unit so entitled within the large amount of epigraphical and papyrological evidence which has survived on this subject.

It is appropriate also that we focus our attention on the titles of the units which we know to have been stationed in Egypt during the late Roman period. We are fortunate in that there exists a late 4th century document known as the *Notitia Dignitatum* which preserves the titles and dispositions of all military units at the date of its composition. The composition of that part of it which deals with the eastern empire, including Egypt, has been dated to c.394.²⁴ More fortunate still is the fact that various wars and invasions throughout the 4th century left Egypt relatively unscathed. Thus, it is generally agreed that in the case of Egypt the information of the *Notitia Dignitatum* holds true for the Diocletianic period with the obvious exception of those units which reveal by their titles that they were formed during the intervening period.²⁵

When we examine the titles of the various units situated throughout the whole of the diocese of Egypt by the end of the 4th century, one in particular immediately strikes the eye. Under the command of the *dux Thebaidos*, there is listed a unit by the name of the *cohors IX Tzanorum* which is shown stationed at Nitnu.²⁶ Nitnu is otherwise unknown, and it has been suggested that it is a corruption of Antinoopolis.²⁷ However, a more recent commentator has expressed doubts concerning this identification as it requires 'a rather far-going

24. J.C. Mann, 'The *Notitia Dignitatum* — Dating and Survival', *Britannia* 22 (1991) 215-9; also R.M. Price, 'The *Limes* of Lower Egypt', in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew (edd.), *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (Oxford 1976) 143-55.

25. A.H.M. Jones, *op. cit.*, 57-9. For concrete examples, see C. Zuckerman, 'Legio V Macedonica in Egypt', *Tyche* 3 (1988) 279-87, and again 'Le Camp de Ψῶβητς/Sosteos et Les Catafractarii', *ZPE* 100 (1994) 199-202, on the *ala III Assyriorum* stationed at Psobthis since c.326 at least; also J.D. Thomas, 'The Earliest Occurrence of the *Exactor Civitatis* in Egypt (P. Giss. inv. 126 recto)', *YCS* 28 (1978) 115-26, on the *ala II Abasgorum* stationed at the Great Oasis since 309 at least. See also M. Roxan, 'Pre-Severan Auxilia Named in the *Notitia Dignitatum*', in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew (edd.), *op. cit.*, 59-80, esp. 73-7, for several auxiliary units which had remained stationed in Egypt since the early 1st century even.

26. *Not. Dig.*, Or., XXXI. 62.

27. D. Van Berchem, *L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne* (Paris 1952) 67.

corruption of the well-known place name', and has identified Nitnu as Netneu instead, a village situated in the border region between the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes.²⁸ So can we identify our *cohors Tyanorum* as a corrupt reference to the *cohors IX Tzanorum*? It is important to note first of all that the term used to describe Varus' unit in the text which we are here discussing is ἀριθμός. This suggests that the unit in question is to be distinguished from a legion. A distinction between the term ἀριθμός and λεγεών seems illustrated in early Byzantine documents such as *P.Lond* 1722.

My second point concerns the identification of the city where Varus was martyred. According to the early text, the edict of persecution which sparked the arrest of the hermits and the eventual death of Varus was sent by the emperor (*BHG* 1862. 1) ἐν πάσῃ γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ τοῖς κατὰ μητρόπολιν ἡγεμόσιν. The reference to a metropolis has been interpreted as an allusion to Alexandria.²⁹ However, it seems to me that the correct interpretation of this text is that the edict was sent throughout the whole of Egypt to the governors of every metropolis. It is unclear what exactly is meant by metropolis here, whether the reference is in a more general sense to the administrative capital of each of the several provinces into which Egypt was split, or in a more strict Egyptian sense to the capital of each nome. It is noteworthy in fact that there are very few firm geographical indicators throughout the whole of the first half of the text which recounts the martyrdom of Varus rather than the translation of his relics. The location of Varus' unit is described in as vague a manner as was the promulgation of the edict of persecution only a few lines previously (*BHG* 1862. 1): ἀνὴρ δέ τις τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἰδρυμένων ἀριθμῶν ἐτύχανεν ὀνόματι Οὐάρος, . . . Furthermore, a careful study of the text fails to confirm one way or the other whether Varus was normally stationed in the town where he met his end or merely chanced to be visiting there, on leave or on temporary assignment, when he was caught up

28. K.A. Worp, 'The *Notitia Dignitatum* and the Geography of Egypt: Observations on Some Military Camps and Place Names in Upper Egypt', in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists Copenhagen, 23-29 August, 1992* (Copenhagen 1994) 463-9, esp. 466.

29. *AASS. Oct. VIII*, 431.

in the events surrounding the arrest of the hermits. Thus, if we were to accept the identification both of the *cohors Tyanorum* as the *cohors IX Tzanorum*, and of Nitnu as Netneu, this does not require us to believe that the governor routinely visited Netneu, whether at the dramatic date of this work or at the time of some later author or editor. Rather, the total absence of any specific geographical detail as far as Egypt itself is concerned, suggests that the text is a literary work composed by someone who had little knowledge or interest in such detail. One suspects that the original author of the earliest text possessed very little genuine information, simply that the *cohors IX Tzanorum* was stationed in Egypt, but that this was sufficient for his purpose.

In the final analysis, therefore, we are confronted with a very simple choice. Either the original author referred in some manner to Tyana in Cappadocia, describing perhaps a *cohors Tyanorum*, for some reason which must remain obscure, but which does not seem to have served well his immediate purpose to describe the death of an Egyptian martyr, or he referred instead to the *cohors IX Tzanorum* which unit really was stationed in Egypt. It is preferable, I think, not to underestimate the intelligence of the author, and to accept that he did incorporate into his work a historical fact, that there was a unit of Tzani in Egypt. Thus, when the governor asked in what unit Varus served (ἐν ποίῳ ἀριθμῷ ἀναφέρεται), the simple answer originally received was that he served among the Tzani (ἐν Τζάνοις). In time, however, the text was misread (ἐν Τυάνοις), and explicit description as a city added (τῇ πόλει), to produce the present text. But is it at all possible that there is any historical basis to the account of the martyrdom of Varus? Can we locate the *cohors IX Tzanorum* at Netneu, or anywhere in Egypt, during the reign of Galerius Maximianus? Unfortunately, there is no definitive evidence on this point. However, the *Notitia Dignitatum* also records a *legio comitatensis* entitled simply *Tzani* under the command of the *magister militum per Thracias*, and its evidence is supported by the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus which shows that this unit existed as early as 363 when it participated in the emperor Julian's campaign against the Persians.³⁰ Therefore, in so far as it is probable that both the

30. *Not. Dig.*, Or. VIII. 49; Amm. 25.1.19.

cohort and the legion were created at the same time, it seems reasonable to date the creation of the *cohors IX Tzanorum* to the first half of the 4th century at latest.

The Tzani occupied the mountains to the south and east of Trapezus, and the most plausible explanation for their presence in the imperial forces is that many were taken prisoner and forced to serve as soldiers following a successful campaign to pacify their native land. One assumes that such a campaign took place during Diocletian's re-ordering of the defences in that region, presumably before his treaty with the Persians in 299 finally defined the limits of Roman authority along the eastern frontier.³¹ As for Egypt itself, it was visited once by Galerius Maximianus as Caesar c.294, and twice by Diocletian in 297/98 and 301/02, so the re-organisation of its defences and garrison troops was presumably completed by this later occasion.³² It is possible that the *cohors IX Tzanorum* formed part of Diocletian's expeditionary force on either of the last two expeditions, to be left behind as part of the permanent garrison forces upon his return from Egypt. However, the fact that Diocletian travelled as far south as Elephantine to negotiate with the Nobatae in 298, whereas he concentrated upon the western borders and the pacification of the Marmaritae in 302, suggests that it is more likely that Netneu received the *cohors IX Tzanorum* as its garrison on the earlier occasion.³³

II. The Location of Varus' Shrine

Cleopatra is described as (*BHG* 1862. 10) τις γυνή ἐκ τῆς Παλεστίνης ὀρμαμένη, and she returned to Palestine to deposit Varus' remains in her ancestral tomb, ἐν τῷ προγονικῷ αὐτῆς

31. On the military history of this region, see C. Zuckerman, 'The Early Byzantine Strongholds in Eastern Pontus', *TM* 11 (1991) 527-53.

32. See A.K. Bowman, 'The Military Occupation of Upper Egypt in the Reign of Diocletian', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15 (1978) 25-38.

33. See D. Woods, 'St. Christopher, Bishop Peter of Attalia, and the Cohors Marmaritarum', *art. cit.*, for the scant detail of Diocletian's campaign in Egypt in 302. An additional point concerns the significance of the presence of the *comites* during the campaign to pacify the Marmaritae. See M. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar: The Roman Emperor's Horse Guard* (London 1994) 72-5, for the award of 'the title *comites* to those who escorted the rulers in the field.'

μνήματι. We are told the name of her ancestral village, and an attempt is even made roughly to locate the same:

(BHG 1862. 12)

Μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ ὀλίγας δῆλον γέγονεν τοῖς τὴν περίχωρον οἰκοῦσιν ὅτι μάρτυρ ἅγιος ἀπόκειται ἐν Σύρῃ τῇ κώμῃ. ἔστιν δὲ παρὰ τὸ Θαβώριον ὄρος·

After a few days it became clear to the inhabitants of the surrounding region that a holy martyr was situated in Sura, a village near Mt. Tabor.

Unfortunately, although Metaphrastes' account of the rescue of Varus' relics agrees with the earlier text in many details, that Cleopatra returned to Palestine and that her ancestral village was situated not far from Mt. Tabor, it differs in the all important matter of the name of the village. While the earlier text refers to a village called Sura, Metaphrastes' account names the village as Edra:

(BHG 1863. 10)

... ἐκείνη τὴν Παλαιστίνην καταλαμβάνει. Αὐτοῦ δὲ γενομένη κατὰ τινα κώμην παρὰ τῷ Θαβωρίῳ κειμένην, Ἐδρα δὲ κατωνόμαστο, τὸ θεῖον σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος κατατίθεται, . . .

. . . she reached Palestine. Once there, she laid the holy body of the martyr to rest in a village by the name of Edra which was situated near Mt. Tabor.

Which reading should we prefer, or is it possible that both are in error?

Fortunately, the reference to Mt. Tabor considerably reduces the geographical area which we must consider to identify the village which is the focus of our attention here. There do not seem to have existed in the immediate vicinity of Mt. Tabor any settlements entitled either Sura or Edra, from which it is clear that the readings of both texts must be in error in this matter. However, there did exist in the wider region a settlement whose ancient title may well have been corrupted to read either Sura or Edra, Jezreel, whose situation between the towns of Legio and Scythopolis is described by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Onomasticon*:

Ἰεζραήλ. φυλῆς Μανασσῆ, ἄλλη. ἔστιν εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἐπισημοτάτη Ἑσδραηλά κώμη ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κειμένη μεταξὺ Σκυθοπόλεως καὶ τῆς Λεγεῶνος. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὄριον Ἰσάαχαρ. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἰεζραήλ καὶ εἰς τῶν ἀπογόνων Ἐφραθά, ὡς ἐν Παραλειπομέναις.³⁴

It would seem that in the one instance the letters — σδρα — of an original reference to Ἑσδραηλά have survived as Σύρη, while in the other the letters Ἑσδρα have survived as Ἑδρα. As for the descriptions of the location of Sura/Edra by reference to Mt. Tabor, they are reminiscent of similar descriptions by Eusebius in his *Onomasticon*.³⁵ Jezreel is a little further to the south than any other settlement so described by Eusebius, but not significantly so. Thus, there seems a strong possibility at least that the texts with which we are here concerned describe the translation of the relics of Varus from Egypt to Jezreel in Palestine.

A recent study of the archaeological remains relating to the Roman road between Legio and Scythopolis has gathered together the relatively meagre references to Jezreel in Greek and Latin literature.³⁶ The anonymous author of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* which describes a journey from Bordeaux to the Holy Land in 333 lists the *civitas Isdradela* as one of the locations through which he travelled.³⁷ Passing references to this site were also made by the ascetic and scholar Jerome during the late 4th century.³⁸ Unfortunately, the origins and development of the Christian community at Jezreel remain obscure. Bishops from Legio and Scythopolis did attend the Council of Nicaea in 325, but the strength of Christianity in these towns or within the intervening region must remain a matter

34. From E. Klostermann, *Eusebius Werke III: Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (GCS: Leipzig 1904) 108.

35. The following settlements are located with respect to Mt. Tabor, and references here are to the relevant page and line in the edition by E. Klostermann, *op. cit.*: Acsaf (22, 3-5), Aendor (34, 8-10), Dabeira (78, 5-7), Cison (116, 23-24), Nazareth (138, 24-140, 2), Naëim (140, 3-5), Soulem (158, 11), Sion (158, 13), Saron (162, 3-6).

36. B. Isaac and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea I: The Legio-Scythopolis Road* (Oxford 1982) 7-14.

37. *CCSL* 175, 13.

38. Jer. *Comm. in Zachar.* 12 (*PL* 25, 1515); *Comm in Hoseam* 1 (*PL* 25, 825).

for conjecture.³⁹ However, this silence is in itself significant in the present context.

It is specifically alleged that Cleopatra called together (*BHG* 1862. 13) πάντας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν μοναστηρίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν χριστιανῶν, i.e. all the bishops and great numbers of monks and other Christians, for the removal of Varus' relics to the magnificent new church which she had constructed in his honour. Now, there are very few exact chronological indicators in the text, but the impression is given that Cleopatra removed Varus' relics to Palestine as soon as the persecution of Christians had ceased, i.e. at earliest after the emperor Galerius Maximianus had decreed toleration on 30 April 311. It would seem, therefore, that she returned to Palestine and built a new church for her relics at the very period when Eusebius of Caesarea was engaged in the composition of his *Martyrs of Palestine*, i.e. during the latter part of 311.⁴⁰ Although one might have been prepared to accept the absence of any reference to Varus in this work as an unfortunate omission on the part of Eusebius, the fact that he also fails to mention him in his *Ecclesiastical History*, the first edition of which was published c.313/14, and in his *Onomasticon*, which may have been published as late as 326, is much more significant still.⁴¹ Eusebius could hardly have failed to learn of Varus' martyrdom if the translation of his relics had occurred in the manner described. The proximity of Caesarea and Jezreel is such that Eusebius' predecessor as bishop, or he himself after his appointment c.313, ought to have been invited to the consecration of Cleopatra's new church among all the other bishops and local dignitaries. So why is Eusebius so silent on this matter? The simple answer is that Varus is a fictitious martyr, and the account of his martyrdom a late fabrication. Eusebius did not attend the consecration of Cleopatra's church because it did not occur as alleged.

39. See J.E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford 1993) 56-64, on the Christian presence in Palestine at the beginning of the 4th century.

40. T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass. 1981) 149.

41. A. Louth, 'The Date of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *JThS* ns 41 (1990) 111-23.

The correct identification of the final resting place of Varus' relics is obviously a topic of some importance. For even if we dismiss the account of Varus' martyrdom as a complete fabrication, there must have been a purpose to this fabrication. Clearly there was a desire on the part of the original author to explain the presence of certain relics in Jezreel, and to preserve or rather promote the claims of an important local shrine. Thus, the correct identification of Varus' resting place may provide a clue as to the identity of the author of his legend, presumably an ecclesiastic whose authority was centred in Jezreel. However, it is important also in that it may contribute towards the correct interpretation of the archaeological remains at Jezreel. A preliminary report on excavations carried out there in 1990 and 1991 reports that Jezreel was continuously settled from the Iron Age until the present day.⁴² It also reports a church which seems to have suffered serious structural alterations in the medieval period, but which probably originated during the early Byzantine era. Hopefully, further excavations will enlighten us on this subject, perhaps confirming even whether Cleopatra's church has really been found?

III. Anachronism and Stereotype

There are strong reasons to suspect that the account of the martyrdom of Varus is entirely fictitious. However, it was not an unintelligent fiction and some of the more plausible details or aspects of the account point to a relatively early date of composition. They are the results of the manner in which the author projected aspects of the society within which he lived back to the era of the Diocletianic persecution.

One of the more notable anachronisms which occur as a result of this process is the depiction of a highly developed monastic system. This is not an unusual or unexpected mistake on the part of the author. The anonymous author of the *Passio Typasii*, for example, composed his fictitious account of a military martyr in Mauretania Caesariensis

42. See D. Ussishkin and J. Woodhead, 'Excavations at Tel Jezreel 1990-1991: Preliminary Report', *Tel Aviv* 19 (1992) 3-56.

probably c.397, and he made a similar mistake when he depicted his martyr retiring *in monasterio*.⁴³ However, there is a strong emphasis on the monastic life throughout the account of Varus' martyrdom. Firstly, there are the seven hermits whose captivity had roused Varus to act as he did. They had allegedly spent 30 years in the desert by the time of their capture, a feat which would make them contemporaries of Anthony who is normally regarded as one of the fathers of asceticism, a lifestyle which he first adopted c.270. It is not particularly credible that there existed as many hermits as this account would seem to imply at so early a date.⁴⁴ Secondly, the account of the translation of Varus' relics to Sura/Edra, or rather Jezreel as I have identified it, mentions that Christians were then seeking out the relics of martyrs and depositing them in their monasteries. Furthermore, it also describes the participation of crowds from the monasteries in the consecration of Cleopatra's newly constructed church. Again, it does not seem possible to reconcile this depiction of events with what we know of the development of monasticism in the region. The earliest recorded monastic activity in the region seems to be the flight to the city of Scythopolis from Egypt in 400 of the famous ascetics Dioscorus and Ammonius, together with 80 followers, as a result of the Origenist controversy.⁴⁵ However, the emphasis on the monastic or ascetic way of life reveals not only the essentially 'epic' nature of the surviving passions, but strongly suggests that the whole tradition is a fiction and that the martyr Varus never existed. For if we compare these texts to the epic passions of St. Athenogenes of Pedachthoe, for example, the references to the ascetic or monastic way of life are much more central to the basic plot, and it seems so much more unlikely, therefore, that there will ever be discovered an early text, devoid of such anachronisms, which will restore Varus'

43. BHL 8354; see D. Woods, 'An Unnoticed Official: The *Praepositus Saltus*', *Classical Quarterly* ns 44 (1994) 245-51, on the date and nature of this text.

44. On the development of monasticism in Egypt, see E.A. Judge, 'The Earliest Use of Monachos for "Monk"' (*P. Coll. Youtie* 77), and the Origins of Monasticism', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 20 (1977) 72-89.

45. J. Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine, 314-631* (Oxford 1994) 142-3.

reputation in much the same manner as Athenogenes' reputation has recently been restored.⁴⁶

Worthy of comment also is the very fact of Cleopatra's involvement in the translation of Varus' relics to Palestine. This is reminiscent of the involvement of many wealthy aristocratic women in the transport of relics and the development of ecclesiastical foundations during the late 4th and early 5th centuries. Silvia of Aquitaine provides a not untypical example.⁴⁷ She travelled to Palestine and Egypt and upon her return to north Italy promised relics of the eastern saints for Sulpicius Severus' new basilica at Primuliacum. These ladies busied themselves in this fashion all over the Roman world, including Palestine. One recalls, for example, the construction of a monastery there by the abbess Bassa during the middle of the 5th century. This foundation is of particular interest in the present context because it was named after St. Menas, an Egyptian military martyr, whose relics it presumably contained.⁴⁸ However, the lead parts in all this activity were played by the ladies of the imperial household. The empress Pulcheria (*Augusta* 414-453), the sister of Theodosius II (emperor 408-450), was particularly active in this matter, as was his wife, Eudoxia (*Augusta* 423-460).⁴⁹ It is possible, therefore, that the author of the original account of the martyrdom of Varus was influenced in his depiction of Cleopatra by the prominent role which the aristocratic women of this era played in the traffic of relics. Indeed, even if he was not directly influenced, one of the *topoi* of the genre within which he wrote, and which was doubtlessly itself a result of the same historical phenomenon, was the recovery of relics by a pious lady. Examples abound, and it is difficult not to treat the story of Cleopatra as just another product, although developed at greater

46. P. Maraval, *La Passion inédite de S. Athénogène de Pédachthoë en Cappadoce* (BHG 197b) (Brussels 1990).

47. E.D. Hunt, 'St. Silvia of Aquitaine: The Role of a Theodosian Pilgrim in the Society of East and West', *JThS* ns 23 (1972) 351-73.

48. Cyril. Scyth, *Vit. Euthym.* 87 (PG 114, 669).

49. K.G. Holm, *Theodosian Emperresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1982), 20-1, 56-7, 103-4, 137, 219.

length, of the same cultural milieu, rather than as an accurate account of intrinsic historical value.⁵⁰

On the subject of translation itself, there is no firm evidence of any such activity before the middle of the 4th century.⁵¹ The first recorded translation appears to have been that by Gallus Caesar of the remains of Babylas, bishop and martyr, from Antioch to the suburb of Daphne c.351.⁵² However, by the end of the 4th century it was a common phenomenon. Indeed, there exists a homily of John Chrysostom which is of particular interest in the present context because it praises the martyrs of Egypt and describes the efficacy of their relics which had spread throughout the whole Roman world.⁵³ It would not have been surprising, therefore, for the author of an account of a fictitious martyr to attribute an Egyptian origin to his martyr, given the reputation of Egypt as a home of martyrs.

50. There follows a brief list of pious ladies who are alleged to have recovered relics. This has been compiled for the most part by means of a quick review of various volumes of the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, with no pretence of scientific method or effort to evaluate the merits of any individual claim. I include the name of the martyr whose relics were allegedly recovered, together with the date under which this martyr appears in the aforementioned volumes. My intention is simply to illustrate that the pious lady who recovers relics is hagiographical commonplace.

<i>Recoverer</i>	<i>Martyr (Feastday)</i>	<i>Text Reference</i>
Ammia	Sebastiana (7 Jun.)	BHG 1619
Apollonia	Anastasia (25 Dec.)	BHL 400
Arista	Artemius (20 Oct.)	BHG 170
Eudoxia	Secundus (1 Jun.)	BHL 7558
Eusebia	Theodore (8 Nov.)	BHG 1761
Eusebia	Quintinus (31 Oct.)	BHL 7000
Eusebia	Athenogenes (17 Jul.)	BHG 197
Ionice	Vincentius (22 Jan.)	BHL 8633
Lucina	Processus (2 Jul.)	BHL 6947
Octavilla	Pancratius (12 May)	BHL 6421
Petronia	Diomedes (16 Aug.)	BHG 549
Pientia	Nicasius (14 Dec.)	BHL 6075
Pompeiana	Maximilian (12 Mar.)	BHL 5813
Tullia	Andeolus (1 May)	BHL 423
Rufina	Cyprian (2 Oct.)	BHG 455

51. E.D. Hunt, 'The Traffic in Relics: Some Late Roman Evidence', in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint* (London 1981) 171-80.

52. C. Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics', *BZ* 85 (1992) 51-61, esp. 52.

53. Joh. Chrys. In *Martyres Aegyptios* 1 (PG 50, 693-695).

The above considerations create serious doubts as to the origin and worth of the story of Varus, doubts which are further compounded by the nature of the actions which are attributed to Varus. The conversion of the good soldier by the sufferings of his Christian prisoners is a hagiographical commonplace. One of the more well known instances of such an event is recorded by Eusebius of Caesarea in his account of the death of Potamiaena of Alexandria in Egypt during the reign of the emperor Septimius Severus.⁵⁴ The soldier who led her to her death, Basilides, was so impressed by her faith and courage that three days later he revealed himself to his comrades as a Christian also, and was executed as a result. More similar still is Eusebius' account of the behaviour of a group of four soldiers who were present at a trial in Alexandria during the Decian persecution.⁵⁵ The accused seemed about to deny that he was a Christian, when they gnashed their teeth and made all sorts of signs with their hands and faces. Finally, they rushed up to the tribunal and declared that they were Christian also, as a result of which they too were executed. Whether or not these particular events actually happened is irrelevant here, but they clearly caught the imagination of the wider Christian public, and similar deeds became a regular feature of epic passions.⁵⁶

It is appropriate at this point also to comment on the form which the traditional antithesis between service of God and service of the state adopts in this particular case. Cleopatra had decided upon a military career for her son, and was anxious for him to do well. Thus, his was

54. Eus. *HE* 6.5; see the comments by T.D. Barnes, 'Pre-Decian *Acta Martyrum*', *JThS* ns 19 (1968) 509-31, esp. 525-7.

55. Eus. *HE* 6.41.22.

56. E.g. the soldiers and sailors who drowned St. Theagenes were converted immediately afterwards, *BHL* 8106. 11: '*Venientes autem in civitatem, narraverunt omnia quae viderant fecisse sanctum martyrem Theagenem, et crediderunt in Domino. Praeterea et alia turba de ipsa legione credidit Domino.*' Again, although there is much of historical value in the early accounts of the martyrdom of St. Christopher, the account of the conversion of those soldiers who were sent to arrest him does not necessarily deserve any credence. They were baptised, and escorted St. Christopher back to trial, *BHL* 1764. 20: '*Et respiciens ad milites, dicit: Venite, societatem faciamus, ut maximas coronas mereamur. Illi autem continuo, sicut ex longa peregrinatione venientes, proicientes arma et vestes suas in faciem regis, prociderunt ad pedes sancti Christophori, et adoraverunt eum, dicentes: Ave famule Dei excelsi. Vocatio tua lumen nobis factum est. Et dicunt ad regem: Nos christiani sumus, et non immolamus iam daemioniis amplius.*' Following such defiance, they were naturally beheaded.

no ordinary military service among the *limitanei* of Palestine, but he had been accepted for service instead (*BHG* 1862. 12) ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλῇ, i.e. at the imperial court itself. However, Cleopatra's prayers to Varus on behalf of her son, that he would have only the best, had an unforeseen result. He died and was taken to heaven to serve (*BHG* 1862. 17) ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν πρωτοτόκων, i.e. in the unit of the first-born.⁵⁷ Thus, the contrast here is of service at the divine palace in heaven against service at the imperial palace on earth. This marks a development of an earlier rather vague contrast between the camp of darkness and the camp of light as occurs, for example, in the writings of Tertullian.⁵⁸ One is immediately reminded of the Greek *Vision of Dorotheus*, a 4th century poem in hexameter which describes the dream of a palace official that he was serving at the gate of God's palace.⁵⁹ One notes also that this contrast seems to have been very real in the hearts and minds of many by the end of the 4th century. The manner in which several well-connected young men relinquished their military posts at the imperial court in order to pursue monastic vocations proves this very point. In 396, for example, Jerome wrote a letter of consolation to his friend

57. It is very tempting to detect in the description of a heavenly unit of first-born a corrupt reference to a corps of heavenly *protectores domestici*, such is the similarity between the terms πρωτοτόκος, first-born, and πρωτέκτωρ, protector. On the *protectores*, see J.F. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians: An Administrative, Institutional and Social Survey of the Opsikion and Tagmata c.580-900* (Bonn 1984) 130-6. This would further emphasise the contrast between service of state and service of God, if Cleopatra's son had held the exact same position in each. However, on balance, the present reading is probably correct, and must be interpreted rather in terms of the treatment of the first-born in the Bible. The first-born son belonged in an especial way to God, as did the first-born of animals. Ordinarily, though, animals were sacrificed to God, while the first-born son was redeemed by an alternative offering to God (*Ex.* 13.2, 22.29, 34.20; *Lv.* 27.26; *Nm.* 8.17; *Dt.* 15.19).

58. Tert. *De Idololatria* 19.2: 'Non convenit sacramento divino et humano, signo Christi et signo diaboli, castris lucis et castris tenebrarum; non potest una anima duobus deberi, deo et Caesari.' Interestingly, Y. Le Bohec, 'Tertullien, *De Corona* 1: Carthage ou Lambèse?', *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 38 (1992) 6-18, argues that the subject of this work was executed at Rome rather than in North Africa, and that he was in fact a member of the praetorian guard. Thus, the rejection by members of the imperial guard of service of the state in favour of service of God can now be traced back as far as the opening years of the 3rd century.

59. A.H.M. Kessels and P.W. van der Horst, 'The Vision of Dorotheus (*Pap. Bodmer* 29): Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Notes', *Vigiliae Christianae* 41 (1987) 313-59.

Heliodorus, bishop of Altinum, on the premature death of his nephew, Nepotianus, in which he describes how the latter had forsaken military service at court because of his desire to pursue the monastic life.⁶⁰ Again, there is the example of Dalmatius, who left the *schola secunda* at Constantinople during the early 380s, and became a monk.⁶¹ It can be seen, therefore, that the acts of Varus are not unique in their depiction of a contrast between service in the imperial and divine households, although the dramatic departure of Cleopatra's first-born son to the next life serves to emphasise the priority of the latter call.

My final point concerns the age of Cleopatra's son at the time of his enrolment among the forces of the imperial court. When Cleopatra first recovered Varus' body in Egypt, she took her 12 year old son with her (*BHG* 1862. 10), τὸν ὑἱὸν αὐτῆς δώδεκα ἔτων ὄντα. However, when, after returning to Palestine, she prepared to send this same son to the imperial court, he was apparently still only 12 years of age (*BHG* 1862. 12), ὑἱὸν μονογενῆ ἔτων ιβ'. It seems clear, therefore, that there is an error here somewhere, and it has been plausibly suggested that the second digit of the numeral ιβ' is corrupt.⁶² This, the obvious corruption of the present text in one detail at least, is a point well worth making in itself. However, the fact remains that the author seems to have envisaged the enrolment of Cleopatra's son among the court forces at an unusually young age. It is true that there was no fixed age of enrolment in the late antique period, but an age within the late teens seems probable.⁶³ Indeed,

60. J.H.D. Scourfield, *Consoling Heliodorus: A Commentary on Jerome, Letter 60* (Oxford 1993) 52-5.

61. On Dalmatius, *AASS. Aug. II*, 213-24.

62. The commentary at *AASS. Oct. VIII*, 436, suggests that it should read ιζ' in the belief that there existed a fixed age of enrolment at 17 years of age.

63. A fine illustration of the fact that no fixed age of enrolment existed is provided by a late 3rd or early 4th century inscription, *CIL* XI 6168, which records the death of two brothers, members of the *comites imperatoris*, who had both served 2 years and 6 months before their deaths together, the older aged 21 years, 2 months, and 6 days, while the younger was aged 20 years and 12 days. In the case of Cleopatra's son, the most obvious comparison is with Martin of Tours who was enrolled among the *scholae palatinae* at court, at 15 years of age apparently, Sulp. Sev. *Vit. Mart.* 2.5. However, the circumstances surrounding his conscription are much disputed, and it seems probable that he was conscripted during a particularly vicious civil-war when an urgent need of man-power affected recruitment policy accordingly. See D. Woods, 'A Note Concerning the Early Career of Valentinian I', *Ancient Society* 26 (1995), 273-88.

inscriptions from the end of the 4th century show that enrolment at the age of 20 was more normal.⁶⁴ Also, if one trusts the acts of the military martyr Maximilian of Tebessa, in 295 an attempt was made to conscript him at the age of 21.⁶⁵ In short, the fact that the author of the acts of Varus envisaged the enrolment of a youth, perhaps as young as 12 years of age, is reminiscent of the situation in the 5th and 6th centuries, rather than that in the 4th century, when emperors no longer took the field personally and the nature of the court forces was affected accordingly.

IV. Conclusions

What can we conclude concerning the origin of the account of the martyrdom of Varus? As already stated, the purpose of the account was presumably to explain the presence of relics in Jezreel, and promote the claims of the local shrine. Another clue to the origin of this story may lie in the description of Cleopatra's final burial place beside Varus and her son (*BHG* 1862. 19), ἐτέθη παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ. One presumes that this was a fact verifiable by all those who heard the story and cared to visit the shrine. It is possible, therefore, that it was the existence of these burials on the site which gave rise to this account in the first place. Any old burial at the right place was liable to be identified as that of a martyr. It has been argued, for example, that the 4th-century cult of St. Salsa at Tipasa in Mauretania Caesariensis developed because of a misinterpretation of a grave inscription of a Roman matron of the 3rd century.⁶⁶ Whatever the case, old burials and sarcophagi within church buildings were certainly prone to reinterpretation. The whole episode of the discovery of the remains of SS. Gervasius and Protasius in the church of SS. Nabor and Felix by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, is particularly instructive in this matter.⁶⁷ The remains were discovered, and some old men then 'remembered'

64. D. Hoffmann, 'Die spätrömischen Soldatengrabschriften von Concordia', *Museum Helveticum* 20 (1963) 22-57, inscription nos 1, 8, 32.

65. H. Musurillo, *op. cit.*, 249: 'annorum fuit in saeculo XXI et mensium III, dierum X et VIII.'

66. H. Grégoire, 'Sainte Salsa, roman épigraphique', *B* 12 (1937) 212-34.

67. See F. Homes Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* (Oxford 1935) 298-320; also N.B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley 1994) 209-19.

their names and an inscription in their honour. In the case of SS. 'Gervasius' and 'Protasius', their burials probably predated the construction of the church on the site. However, it is more probable in this case that we are dealing with the reinterpretation of early burials within a church, shortly after its construction, by a later generation long accustomed to the practice of burial *ad sanctos*.⁶⁸

Three burials were discovered, one may surmise, the more distinguished of which was identified as that of a martyr, and the others as dignitaries who had obviously done something important to have merited burial so close to the tomb of the martyr himself. Indeed, it would not have been at all surprising if Varus or Cleopatra had appeared to someone in a dream beforehand to reveal the location of their burials and explain their story. St. Thyrsus apparently appeared no less than three times to the empress Pulcheria in order to inform her of the whereabouts of the remains of the 40 martyrs of Sebasteia.⁶⁹ Even the prophet Zechariah felt the need to unburden himself to a peasant in the territory of Eleutheropolis in Palestine and reveal the location of his remains.⁷⁰ The fact is that it could be a rather uncritical age at times, and if anyone claimed revelations from long deceased martyrs or prophets, and remains were conveniently discovered to support such a claim, there was every chance that this claim would succeed in winning acceptance.

To summarise, therefore, it has been suggested that the text of the earliest surviving account of the martyrdom of Varus, *BHG* 1862, is corrupt at several important points. It has been argued that in its earliest form this account originally described Varus as a member not of a *cohors Tyanorum*, but of a *cohors Tzanorum*. It also described the translation of his remains to Jezreel in Palestine rather than to an otherwise unknown settlement by the name of Sura or Edra.

68. On burial *ad sanctos*, see Y. Duval, *Auprès des saints corps et âme: L'inhumation 'ad sanctos' dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Paris 1988); also H. Kotila, *Memoria mortuorum: Commemoration of the departed in Augustine* (Rome 1992) 77-85.

69. Soz. *HE* 9.2.

70. Soz. *HE* 9.17.

Furthermore, although it is impossible to date exactly the composition of this original account, it has been argued, on the basis of the anachronisms and hagiographical commonplaces, that this was a fictitious tale which probably did not antedate the 5th century.

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Postscript

See now O. Musso and F. Santi, 'Un nuovo documento del culto di San Varo e i Templari a Casale Monferrato', *Hagiographica* 2 (1995) 177-86, on the subject of a medieval mosaic inscription which seems to attest a cult of St. Varus at Casale Monferrato in northern Italy. They argue that Templars were responsible for the translation of the relics of St. Varus from Palestine to that town, probably during the 13th century. In the present context, it is interesting to note that Jezreel belonged to the Templars during the 12th century when it was known as Le Petit Gérin or Parvum Gerinum.

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	UK	Overseas	USA
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